

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

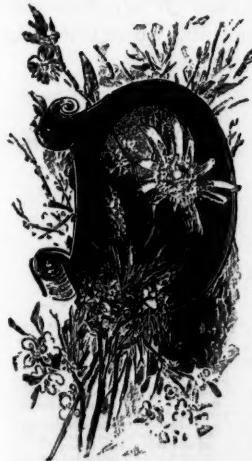
VOL. XVII

FEBRUARY, 1887

No. 2

NOTABLE EDITORS BETWEEN 1776 AND 1800

INFLUENCE OF THE EARLY AMERICAN PRESS



URING the period that Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was assailing the colonial policy of the British government with immortal eloquence, Junius, in the columns of the *Public Advertiser* of London, was demonstrating not only the terrific energy of his invectives, but also the possibilities of influence and power of which the press is capable. Similar force was soon to be exhibited in the press of the united colonies, when the successful termination of the Revolution discovered the fact that the solution of the great question for which they had been fighting only led to the discussion of problems scarcely less grave, and requiring not less skill and determination than the one just settled by the appeal to arms. But while there was, perhaps, displayed talent of a higher order and strength more thoroughly organized in the post-Revolutionary press than in the colonial, we are not prepared to agree with a very able historian, Mr. McMaster, regarding the inefficiency or unavailability of the newspapers which had contributed to bring the fight for liberty to a successful issue. The fact that their utterances had aroused so much attention, whether for or against the Revolution, and that so many cases against editors had been carried before legislatures and courts, was a very strong evidence of the power of the press, and the dread in which it was held. Such an effect could not have been produced without an adequate cause.

We find that as men of many nations fought side by side in the field to build this great nation, so Englishmen, Germans, and Irish were united with the native-born colonists in issuing the periodicals whose trumpet

blasts rang the cry of freedom or sounded the tocsin of alarm ; even those who on American soil raised opposing voices, like Rivington and Gaine, may be said to have contributed to the general result by producing a stimulating irritation which added fuel to the fervor of patriots. Opposition seems to be one of the methods by which progress is attained. Foreign blood continued to be infused into the American press from time to time, as in the case of Matthew Carey, who, escaping from Ireland burning with hate to England, at once entered here into the editorial ranks.

During the Revolution, James Rivington continued to publish his paper entitled the *New York Gazetteer ; or the Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*. There is something quite touching

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1775.

RIVINGTON'S

No. 63

NEW-YORK
OR
CONNECTICUT.
HUDSON-RIVER,
WEEKLY



GAZETTEER:
THE
NEW-JERSEY
AND QUEBEC
ADVERTISER.

THE CENSOR
No. VI.

A New-Yorker, that every full moon, finds doublet, buckles, & his book, ready to wear, etc., etc.

Mr. Dyer, publisher of the imp. [unclear] for which see

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

RULES

By frequent practice before our girls, require silence and moral purity, scrupulously, that no noise or disturbance may arise from them, but the strict contraries, as the publican may now have inferred, three hours, wherein he must wait three months.

Mr. Chester, Member.—The Honourable Gentleman says, that he has no objection to the application of glycerine, and sometimes of castor oil, to the eye; will need very much to facilitate the excretion, and on account goes back to the common standard of orthodoxy.

Mr. Ferguson.—They pardon for troubling the Stockholders for no advantages that can arise from their being so late, contrary, as the publican may now have inferred, three hours, wherein he must wait three months.

Mr. Chester, Member.—The Honourable Gentleman says, that he has no objection to the application of glycerine, and sometimes of castor oil, to the eye; will need very much to facilitate the excretion, and on account goes back to the common standard of orthodoxy.

in the paternal feeling exhibited towards Connecticut and New Jersey in thus including their newspaper needs under those of New York. As regards the former, the necessity is less evident because several papers had been already established in that State ; although it is probable that there was some close kinship between Connecticut and New York at that time from the tradition still held that the nutmeg State is a suburb of New York.

But New Jersey was in real need of editorial courtesies, for the *New Jersey Gazette*, the first paper issued in that commonwealth, was not started until December 3, 1777, and its life was short ; its editor was Isaac Collins, a worthy Quaker. In the subsequent year, David Franks established the *New Jersey Journal* at Camden, New Jersey, but it was discon-

tinued about 1782, although revived some years later. New Jersey depended for its news and political influence on the press of New York and Philadelphia, thus early acknowledging that its geographical position gave those cities a *quasi* lien upon its territory. Many observers, who, in their



MATTHEW CAREY.

[From a rare print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

transit between the two cities, have hastily concluded that the flat lands of New Jersey were created from the silt washed down from the mountains to afford a clear space for the advertising of nostrums and ready-made clothing, or a pasturage for crows, are obliged by the logic of events to re-

[Vol. II.]

W H E

[No. 97.]

NEW-JERSEY GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1779.

Continued from our last.
To the WARRIORS of the ONEIDA NATION.
Brothers,

THREE enemies of the United States and of your nation, have often threatened to destroy you, and to call upon us for assistance. You have told that our arm was long and strong, and therefore called upon us for that protection which we ever will offer to our brethren, friends and allies, and you have now given us our opportunity. The American Congress have thought proper to send a powerful army into this country, for the purpose of totally defeating the enemies to your cause, and have thought proper to entrust me with the command of that army, and the execution of their

end, him, if he did not make his way down to the Oneida Brother, this is all we have to say.

Brothers, *WARRIORS of the ONEIDA NATION.*
I have heard your speech and attended to the message you received from me on breaking the *Wampum* of the Oneida Nation. I can only tell the Americans at large very kindly of the friendship and attachment of our Oneida brethren. Their regular and uniform conduct, from the commencement of the war, has fully evinced they had a single design to defend their nation, and to repel every attack made by their enemies; your appearance and the movement of your warriors to join me (until turned back by a mistaken report) small harm

I caused to help precipitate Major Genl. Howe's final

and hasty retreat from New York.

from first time of conflict which they have hitherto had with, I hope, in future continue to observe.

Brothers! I am sorry to inform you that the next step is to be delivered to our Oneida brother, is without undivided trust I never spoke to him on the subject. Your fate will depend on the conduct of our Country. I require that you should expect from the country all your young men, and I am bound to present this resolution. From early advice, that this year, or next, would be the most propitious, may come with their families, and that they may associate with their families, and that they may

attend the directress of the Congress. This will save the effusion

of blood, prevent your being disengaged from their sup-

port, and perhaps be the means of their being incor-

porated with your nation and in future be confounded with you. *Oneida nation!*

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

vise this conclusion. New Jersey was formed in order to offer an easy means for the British army to pass from Philadelphia to its embarkation at New York, and in later ages to prove an efficient causeway for the railways between Philadelphia and New York.

Rivington offended even his own party by the gross fabrications which appeared in his columns, and was repeatedly obliged to apologize. The paper went by the name of the "*Lying Gazette.*" Freneau made Rivington the subject of his caustic muse. In his rhymed epitaph on Rivington, the poet says:

"I know there are some (that would fain be thought wise)
Who say my *Gazette* is a record of lies;
In answer to this I shall only reply—
All the choice that I had was to starve or to die."

It was in Rivington's *Gazette* that Major Andre's satirical poem called "The Cow Chase," was first published on the very day of his capture. In November, 1775, a mob of armed men from Connecticut rode into the city and destroyed the press of the *Gazette*, and melted the types into bullets. Rivington procured a new press from England, and was appointed printer to the king for New York. But, when peace was at hand, the wily publisher issued the following notice: "To the Public.—The publisher of this paper, sensible that his zeal for the success of his Majesty's arms, his sanguine wishes for the good of his country, and his friendship for individuals, have at times, led him to credit and circulate paragraphs, without investigating the facts so closely as his duty to the Public demanded; trusting to their feelings, and depending on their generosity, he begs them to look



JAMES RIVINGTON

A large, flowing cursive signature of "James Rivington".

over past errors and depend on future correctness. From henceforth he will neither expect nor solicit their favors longer than his endeavors shall stamp the same degree of authenticity and credit on the *Royal Gazette* (of New York) as all Europe allow to the *Royal Gazette* of London." This singular announcement naturally had but little effect, and Rivington was obliged to close his editorial labors in 1783.

Although the first regular daily paper in America was not started until later, yet, during the Revolution, a distinct attempt was made to issue what was virtually a daily sheet, by the joint action of Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, Gaine's *Gazette or Mercury*, Robertson's *Royal American Gazette*, and Lewis's *New York Mercury and General Advertiser*, all royalist papers. It

The Books in the Enclosed; last received in the Ship
Armed Russell directed to the care of Captⁿ the M^r Legge^t
of the Royal Welsh Dragoons, but that Gentleman having
taken by the Enemy in his passage to Guadaloupe, the
Trunk he contained them was delivered into the hands of
Lieutⁿ Garstin of the Royal Welsh Volunteers who considering
the Trunk contained the baggage of Captⁿ Legge^t has taken
care of them is for Captⁿ Legge^t I must desire that Lieutⁿ
Garstin may be applied to for the delivery of the same
upon giving up the enclosed Receipt, and that the Books
may be exposed to sale, as soon as possible, and in or-
der to help off the sale of the Books I have sent a few
newly published Articles which may quicken the
disposal of them viz Magazines, Histories, Continu-
ation of the History of the War, the whole controversy
upon the Value of Guadaloupe & Canada also a few
Pamphlets upon the same subjects.

It is my Desire that all the Books may be disposed
of either all together or in a little way, as well as
may be. If they'd been sold I beg that the proceed
may be laid out in fine White Sugars and remit
to Mess^s Threlkell & Watson Merchant in London, & that
a little fee made in due time to those Gentlemen to
order Insurance to be made for the Value of the
Sugar sent. If no Freight to be had be pleased
to bring and me a good Bill of Exchange
for the Amount.

It is apprehended the ship with the Books may
heat Dominica with the baggage of the
Royal Welsh Volunteers in order to know
the delivery please apply to Lieut Garstin
on the Russell Adjutant paymaster or in
Case any difficulties arise pray apply to
Col Vaughan Major Heath coat and Hawley
in French or a purse for Russell or another
for Lieut all ready.

OCT 7 1761

James Rivington

was arranged that the days of publication should be such that the public might have a fresh paper every day of the week except Sunday.

Hugh Gaine was another editor and publisher of New York who found his occupation gone with the conclusion of peace, and whose attempts to steer a middle course offer one of the humorous incidents of that period.

The inclosed Letters I wish you to have delivered with care, as they are of consequence: I would not think much to give two Dollars to get the Job done with care: I must know the Persons Name that delivers them; and the Day when

The Bearer of this is named Weaver: He may have occasion to write to me from the Country, and I told him he might address his letters to you and I should obtain them more readily. I hope you will take this Trouble; and I will give you in a private Way when required

*I hope you have received the Goods left
yours I am Sir*

your humble Servt

Hugh Gaine

Mrs. Weston

Sept. 20, 1797

[The autograph letters of James Rivington and Hugh Gaine are engraved from originals through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

Gaine was a native of Ireland, and established the *New York Mercury* in 1752, his place of publication being at the "Bible and Crown," in Hanover Square. In the following year he inadvertently made an incorrect report of certain official proceedings and documents, and enjoyed the distinction of being summoned before the bar of the House, where, after a

(3)

T H E

AMERICAN MAGAZINE,

For DECEMBER. 1787.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Editor of the *American Magazine* present the Compliments of the season to his readers, and wishes them all the blessings they wish for themselves. He begs leave, on the auspicious opening of the year 1788, to usher into the world a *New Publication*, which he designs to continue, as long as it shall be profitable to himself, or entertaining to his countrymen. He thinks it unnecessary to trouble his readers with an enumeration of the *desirable motives* which prompted him to this undertaking; for whatever he may say in his own favor, mankind will still have their own opinions of the Editor's views. To this he has not a single objection; while he is conscious that among several motives which actuate him on this occasion, there is not a *bad one*.

The plan of this Work is comprehensive, and great pains will be taken to render it in the execution both useful and amusing.

The Editor is determined to collect as many original Essays as possible; and particularly such as relate to this country, and contain useful and curious discoveries in the history, or geography of America, or ingenious remarks upon the science of Government, and the peculiar institutions and customs of the people, in the different States. For these purposes the Editor has fur-

nished himself with many materials; and he will acknowledge himself indebted for valuable communications both from Societies and individuals.

The most interesting Essays upon every subject, will be extracted from the latest periodical publications, both in Great-Britain and France; and from time to time, an abridgement of the English Reviews of new and useful publications will be inserted.

It is the Editor's wish to gratify every class of readers—the Divine, the Philosopher, the Historian, the Statesman, the Monk, the Poet, the Merchant and the Laborer—and his *fair readers* may be assured, that no inconsiderable pains will be taken to furnish them with entertainment; at the same time, he flatters himself that many of the *ladies*, who are the favorites of Minerva and the Muses, will be found in the number of his correspondents.

The *American Magazine* will be open for every species of decent and valuable Essays; for fair discussion, general satire, wit and humor, and for the productions of imagination. At the same time, the Editor will find it necessary to reserve to himself the right of deciding on the merit of the Essays communicated, and the propriety of admitting them into the work; as personal invective, ribaldry and immoral writings will form

[Engraved from the original copy of the first number of this magazine, in possession of the author.]

humble apology, he was reprimanded and dismissed. As Isaiah Thomas pithily observes: "Gaine's political creed, it seems, was to join the strongest party." When the British approached New York, in 1776, he removed his press to Newark. But when he judged that the colonial cause was waning, he returned to New York, and his paper sided with the Royalists. On the close of the war, Gaine felt that, with many other Tories, he might be made to suffer, and petitioned the Assembly that he might be allowed to remain. The petition was granted, but the *Mercury* was thereafter discontinued. Freneau composed a versified satire out of Gaine's petition, of which we give a characteristic extract:

"To the Senate of New York, with all due submission,
Of honest Hugh Gaine, the humble petition ;
An account of his life he will also prefix,
At least what was previous to seventy-six ;
He hopes that your honours will take no offence,
If he sends you some groans of contrition from hence ;
And further to prove that he's truly sincere,
He wishes you all a Happy New Year.
And first he informs, in his representation,
That he once was a printer of some reputation,
And dwelt in the street called Hanover Square
(You'll know where it is if you ever was there),
Next door to the shop of Doctor Brown—John,
(Who now to the dog-house of Pluto is gone) ;
But what do I talk—whoe'er came to town,
And knew not Hugh Gaine at the Bible and Crown ?
Now, if I ever were so given to lie,
My dear native country I wouldn't deny ;
(I know you love Teagues) and I shall not conceal,
That I came from the kingdom where Phelim O'Neill
And other brave worthies ate butter and cheese,
And walked in the cloverfields up to their knees."

Another Irishman, whose course was diametrically opposite to that of Hugh Gaine, was Samuel Loudon, who was a ship chandler in New York before the Revolution. In 1775 he opened a printing office in Water Street, New York, between the Coffee House and the Old Slip. He was an unmistakable Whig, and there was no uncertainty to the ring of the articles that appeared in his paper called the *New York Packet*, which he removed to Fishkill in 1776, and continued to publish in that place until the close of hostilities, when he returned to New York; soon after its last removal the *Packet* was changed to a daily. At a later period Loudon

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1774.

THE

NEW-YORK
OR
WEEKLY

TELLS the freshest Advices,

GAZETTE.
THE
POST-BOY.

Foreign and Domestick.

Published by SAMUEL INSLEE, and ANTHONY CAR, on BEEKMAN'S-SLIP.

A B S I Z E of BREAD, published the 18th of June,
1774.

FLOUR at \$1.00 per Hundred.

A WHITE Loaf of the best Flour, to weigh
1lb. 8oz. for 4 Coppers.
Do. of Do. to weigh 1.125. for a Copper
HIGH-WATER at NEW-YORK, till Monday next.
Mr. Ho. THURSDAY, 14. shill

GILBERT FORBES,

At the Sign of the Broad-Axe, near the Orange Market,
has just completed for the Hon. Capt. M. Morris, Brigadier
General of the New-Cap. Inf. & Regt. of Dragoons
A large and general Assortment of IRONMONGERY
and CUTLERY, which he will sell wholesale or retail,
on the lowest Terms for Cash or Short Credit.
4d. 6d. Ed. 1d. 12d. 20d. and 24d. NAILS.

Wednesday night last arrived the ship Duxbury of
Gordon, Capt. Wm. in 6 weeks from Turkey. In
which was having the following advice.

H A M B U R G, JUNE 10.
THIS city has received expected to a melancholy
news of late. After the beautiful and rich
valley of Elbe, through which a noble river runs,
under the gates of the city stand the inhabitants are

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

was also the publisher of the *American Magazine*, a monthly periodical devoted to elegant extracts or scientific and literary information, together with illustrations on copper, a not unworthy precursor of the sumptuous monthlies which now distinguish the press of the United States.

A vigorous figure in the period we are now considering was John Holt, a strong, brusque, fearless character, who first appeared in New York in 1759. He was born and reared in Virginia; after failing as a merchant, and serving as mayor of Williamsburg, he entered into partnership with James Parker, and established the *New York Gazette and Postboy*, when he was thirty-eight years of age. In 1766 he started the *New York Journal*, "containing freshest advices, Foreign and Domestick." The heading was ornamented with the arms of the king, which were discarded in 1774 for the famous device of a snake cut into parts, with "Unite or die" for a motto. The following year the snake

John Holt



TOMB OF JOHN HOLT, IN OLD TRINITY CHURCHYARD.

SEPTEMBER 1786.

THE

NUMB. 3.

HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1786.

NORTHAMPTON. PRINTED BY WILLIAM BUTLER, A FEW RODS EAST OF THE COURT-HOUSE.

NORTHAMPTON, Sept. 6, 1786.

To the Public.

By the advice and encouragement of a number of Gentlemen in this Country, the Subscriber has established a *Printing Office* in Northampton, where printing of all kinds will be performed with care and dispatch.

In a country like this, where our national character and happiness so entirely depend upon a general diffusion of knowledge among the people, the extensive advantages of such periodical publications cannot be too often explained or too highly estimated. In the United States of America we owe their existence as an empire to that superior degree of knowledge which the people at large have enjoyed and maintained through every period of their pro-

ters of government, while they are delusive of limitations.—*t. liberty from all restrictions; and fr. sl. like the wild ass to range at large where none is able to follow or find them? beside there are essential objections to the usual manner of their appointment:—As they often powerfully influence those who fee with other people's eyes, it is difficult to represent them as fit persons to be a *fumane*, from any man or town who may take it upon them to issue the precept for convening them.—Besides conventions in this country have been composed of members very unfairly and partly chosen.*

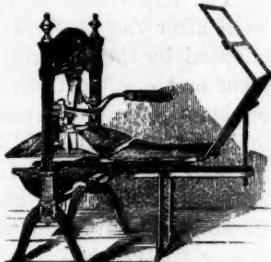
Upon issuing the paper money in Rhode-Island, the *country* of Bristol & Town, more than half the *country* of Bristol & Town, more than half in convention, required for paper money to clear the public and private creditors, attacked the *confederation*, fear up the cry of danger, issued their precept against county *conventions*, and threatened to arrest the *delegates* who attended them, and to prosecute them for sedition, & inciting the people to rebellion; & by this means nearly extinguished what had begun; spread in the eastern parts of this country a number of men in several towns met at Pekham, they issued their precept. On calling the

and the freeholders at large, how you managed your matters : you gentlemen, who do not mince matters when you speak of your constitutional rulers, will be so liberal as to allow me to speak freely of your proceedings; and make such observations for the common good ; as this is no more than fair. I take it for granted that I have your liberty to go on with my subject.

[Engraved from a fac-simile of the original in possession of the editor.]

was joined and coiled, with the tail in his mouth, forming a double ring; within the coil was a pillar standing on Magna Charta, surmounted with the cap of Liberty. An editor who dared defy the royal authority in a manner so bold, was, of course, obliged to fly from New York when the British army entered. But taking his little press with him to Fishkill, Esopus, Hudson, and other retired points along the Hudson, Holt continued to issue his paper until the conclusion of peace. He then returned to New York, and published his paper under a new title, *The Independent Gazette, or New York Journal*. He did not long survive after this, but died in 1784, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, where his tomb may still be seen. Thomas says of him, "Holt was a man of ardent feelings, and a high churchman, but a firm Whig; a good writer, and a warm advocate for the cause of his country."

With the close of the war new issues appeared for settlement, and new periodicals were started for the distinct purpose of discussing those great questions in which the very existence of the young republic was involved at its



THE HAND PRESS ON WHICH THE *Hampshire Gazette* WAS FIRST PRINTED.

very birth. One of these papers was the *Hampshire Gazette*, founded with the especial object of enforcing on the popular mind the importance of preserving law and order at the time when Shays, with his associates, Parsons and Day, were resisting the authority of the courts of justice in Massachusetts. The *Hampshire Gazette*, after the *Worcester Spy* and perhaps the *Salem Gazette*, the oldest paper in New England having celebrated its centennial last year, was established in the autumn of 1786 in Northampton, one of the most beautiful towns on the Connecticut River, by William Butler, who was at that time an energetic young man of twenty-two, and a practical printer. The paper was issued weekly, on Wednesday mornings, and was circulated through the country by post-riders. The nearest post-office was then at Springfield, to which place a journey was made on horseback once a week for exchange papers. The *Gazette* was printed at first on a hand press in the back part of a dwelling house. It contained very little local news, no marriage announcements for several years, and few death notices—its special feature, after the settlement of the disturbances in New England, being foreign news. It contained no stories, few jokes, no slang, and no nonsense—altogether a thoroughly respectable sheet. It aimed high and pledged itself to be substantial and sensible. Articles of political tone and patriotic character were frequently contributed by such scholars as Caleb Strong and Major Joseph Hawley, for Northampton was at that period the residence of numerous cultivated men. The *Gazette*, as it grew in importance, had much to do with educating and refining the farming community of that region. Its history is indeed unique, its success never being due to sensational manœuvres or frantic appeals to the public, or special canvassing in its own behalf. It has lived and thrived through sheer merit, and is now not only one of the oldest but one of the best family papers in the United States.

The importance of the great question which immediately presented itself after the close of the war, the exact form of confederation to be adopted by the thirteen colonies, and the intensity of the popular sentiment on the subject were vividly illustrated by the acrimonious war carried on by two Boston newspapers, a feud continued by them long after the main point at issue had been settled. We refer to the *Independent Chronicle* and the *Centinel*. In 1775, Samuel Hall, proprietor of the *Essex Gazette*, by the advice of members of the General Court, moved his paper to Cambridge from Salem, and changed the title to the *New England Chronicle, or the Weekly Gazette*—it was the fashion at that period to change the names of newspapers. In the summer of 1776 this paper was purchased

by Powers and Willis, who in the following November changed the title to that of *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, and affixed to the title a plate representing a man holding in his right hand a naked sword and in his left a scroll bearing the word "Independence;" over the figure was the legend "Appeal to Heaven." It is more than likely that this design was engraved by Paul Revere, then the chief engraver of the colony, and one of the solitary four artists who, however rudely, followed the art of engraving in North America at that period. Originally a goldsmith, Revere taught himself the art of copperplate engraving, and after serving as lieutenant-colonel during the Revolution, carried his interest in copper still further by establishing a foundry in the suburbs of Boston.*

THE
Independent AND **UNIVERSAL** CHRONICLE : THE ADVERTISER
VOLUME XVII. NUMBER 896.



THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1785.

TION: Published by A D A M S and N O U R S E , Printers to the GENERAL COURT of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, at their Office, opposite the new Court-House, Court-Street.

Mr. ADAMS & NOURSE,
1. Is of the greatest importance, that
one of your Commissioners should have
an office in their M. ONE T
TOWN. I have for their information
a more accurate account of the substance of a
letter in a Committee of the present Com-
mittee. This Committee had it in charge in
the part of the Governor's speech
and is the responsibility of Congress, and
of giving this State's proportion of it a
place of measure for fanning our private
wings, the collection of excess—
We hand you this piece of intelligence

comply with such regulation; two third-
of which sum may be paid in the certificates
of the Loan-Office; the other third part re-
quired in Spec. II. It will also be necessary
in order to establishing any particular certificate
of the Loan-Office that provisions made,
in compliance with the said regulation of Ad-
ministrative Council of Sept. 27, in appointing positions to Adminis-
ter the sums necessary to draw certificates
out of the Loan-Office for presenting the
specification of such certificates again the said
regulation is observed, sec.

whereas there will exceed its expenses by the amount of those who could only prevent consequences if aid from Standard ample, might nevertheless, consider it expedient, that the sum of \$100,000 be paid, and that at the period of the same, a subscription which at that period would be peculiarly disengaging.—But your Committee, consider that they know full well by experience the weight of the public burthen, and, fearing consequences so no one will make or keep subscriptions, they suggest that the sum mentioned in the Legislative Bill, \$50,000, be left as it is, that by the same measure the public debt amounts to

To be sold,
At James White's
BOOK-STORE.
Nearly opposite the Court-House, Court-Square
A DVENTURER.
John Galt's Miscellaneous Works, numerous
introduces the study and art of history; Colton's
Practical, Doddridge's Lectures,
Cassell's, Chapman's, &c.
Also, Mrs. Hemans' *Home Life*, valuable book treatise
both on a spirit of virtue and morality, so making it
fitable for every service to profits.

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

The Willis mentioned above was Nathaniel Willis, senior, father of the founder of the *Boston Recorder*, the first distinctively religious newspaper in America, and grandfather of the poet and founder of the *Home Journal*, Nathaniel P. Willis,—altogether a notable family in the history of American periodical literature.

In 1788 the *Chronicle* was purchased by Adams and Nourse, who solicited, in their prospectus, a continuance "of such speculations as shall be adapted to promote the liberty of our country, and the general welfare of mankind." They began the new *regime* by violently opposing the proposed

* This Magazine, in January, 1886 [xv. i. 10], published a portrait, and autograph letter of Paul Revere.

Society of the Cincinnati, which was creating much ill-feeling on the part of many who imagined that Washington and his immediate associates were bent on a monarchical government, and that an exclusive organization of this sort would be an opening wedge to the establishment of a hereditary aristocracy. We can now afford to smile at those fears, but cannot but respect, if we cannot accept, the apprehensions of those patriots who, in that stormy time, regarded with keen jealousy and dread any influence that

Worcestor Mass. Decr 7/14 - 1818

Sir, I was this day favoured with yours of the 6th instant, respecting the first volume of a new series of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society and will thank you to have my name entered on the subscription List for two copies.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient Servt,

Isaiah Thomas

J. Vaughan, Engt

COPY OF ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH LETTER IN POSSESSION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

[This magazine published the portrait of Isaiah Thomas [xvii. 14] in January, 1887.]

might prevent a complete separation from the effete political systems of the old world.

The *Independent Chronicle* was naturally attached, from the first, to the Republican or anti-Federalist party, and one of its strongest writers was Benjamin Austin, Jr., who wrote for it daily, for upwards of twenty years, over the name of "Honestus," and, sometimes, of "Old South." During the agitation of 1798, Mr. Austin was especially subject to attack on account of his defense of the policy of the President regarding a war with France. The *Mercury* was among his fiercest Federalist enemies. One of

its attacks began with the following lines: "HONESTUS—a hungry, lean-faced fellow, a mere anatomy, a rope-maker, an envious, hollow-eyed, sharp-looking wretch; this living dead man, this incessant scribe, forsooth took on him as a chronicler." At another time the *Mercury* called him, "this abominable booby." But Austin had a more formidable foe than this to contend with in his editorial career—Benjamin Russell, founder and editor of the *Centinel*.*

MONDAY, March 25, 1776.

THE

N E W - Y O R K
AND
W E E K L Y

Containing the Freethought

G A Z E T T E :
THE
M E R C U R Y .

[No. 1276]

PRINTED BY HUGH GAINES, PRINTER, BOOKSELLER, AND STATIONER, at the BIBLE and CROWN, in HANOVER-SQUARE.

AMOUNT OF BREAD. Four at 20s. per Cwt.
A White Loaf of the best FLOUR, to weight
1lb. 3-1/2 oz. or 4 Copper.
Published November 2, 1775.

HIGH-WATER at NEW-YORK, this Week.

Monday, 24 Min. after 2 P.M.—Friday, 24 Min. after 2 P.M.—
Tuesday, 2 Min. after 2 P.M.—Saturday, 4 Min. after 2 P.M.—
Wednesday, 2 Min. after 2 P.M.—Sunday, 4 Min. after 2 P.M.—
Thursday, 29 Min. after 2 P.M.—Friday, 29 Min. after 2 P.M.



Foreign and Domestick.

PRICE-CURRENT, in NEW-YORK.

Whisper Bullets, 2s. pd.	Macaroni Biscuits, 6d. pd.	Fine Soles,
Flour, 1s. 6d. pd.	Single roll'd ditties, 1s. 6d.	Cloath 1s. 6d.
Woolen Goods, 1s. 6d. pd.	Woolen Biscuits, 1s. 6d.	Cake 1s. 6d.
Well-Dress'd Xmas, 1s. 6d. pd.	Bread per Pound, 6d. pd.	Coffee, 1s. 6d.
New-England, 1s. 6d. pd.	Pork, 6d. pd.	Closet, 2s. per Doz.

H. GAINES,
ACQUANTS THE PUBLIC,
That he has yet Int'l. to come,
T H E
Journal of the Proceedings
OF THE
Continental Congress,
Hold at PHILADELPHIA, May 10, 1775.

JUST PUBLISHED,

Add to be SOLD at the
BOOK-STORE and PRINTING-OFFICE;
In Hanover-Square.

[Illustrated with a beautiful and accurate Copper-Plate Plan of the City of New-York.]

G A I N E S,
Universal Register,
O. N.
AMERICAN AND BRITISH
KALENDAR,

For the Year 1776.

C O N T A Y N E R.

THE KALENDAR; With the Upper Council Must
Indicate a better List of the States than published
in the English Almanack.

[From the PENNSYLVANIA LEDGER.]

TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A T length to take up a subject as delicate and
of so much importance as this, it is necessary, to give some
further definition of our Assembly, to give some
account of their origin, and to shew what was done
when we last met, and what was done when we
met again.

Among others, a writer under the signature
of "A Friend to the People," in the Pennsylvania Journal of last
Saturday week, has held forth sentiments which I
encourage highly dignified. As far as I can perceive,
he has been well informed, and has written with great
honesty (but upon what ground I know not) that

he is anxious to see his countrymen, the people of
Pennsylvania, freed from all the encumbrances which
have retarded, and still retard, the progress of
individuals.

Among others, a writer under the signature
of "A Friend to the People," in the Pennsylvania Journal of last
Saturday week, has held forth sentiments which I
encourage highly dignified. As far as I can perceive,
he has been well informed, and has written with great
honesty (but upon what ground I know not) that

he is anxious to see his countrymen, the people of
Pennsylvania, freed from all the encumbrances which
have retarded, and still retard, the progress of
individuals.

The contest in which we are engaged is founded
upon the principles of justice, and the principles
which reign in every nation of men.

We are contending, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, against
the principles of justice, and the principles which reign in
every nation of men.

The eye of all Europe is upon us, and every
powerhouse, in which the pulse of liberty is
strong, is watching us.

Our cause, therefore, being the cause of virtue,
and the cause of justice, and the cause of the
people, and that when the shock is to fall, the fruits

will be proportionately perfect. Let us not disappoin-

t the cause of freedom by the smallest deviation

Raked their Herds and forces on this ground, so to
make them they will inflict themselves in the field
and the field will be the field of battle.

What is the object of this? To be massacred?

Dear General, Baltimore, ^{the} 30. May 1785.

M^r. Mighni has been here & have collected some little matters from his Memorandum Book: I am now in a state of suspense, waiting for your favours — As you know the arrangement of literary articles requires some time & judgment. I need not inform you how impatient I am for your assistance — let me therefore beseech you to send me what materials you have, as soon as possible —

I have wrote to General Washington & shall in a few days send him a copy of the proposals.

I am, in great haste — Dear General,
Yours most obliged & humble Servt
General Gates W^m Goddard.

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

behind it of extraordinary nerve and ability—Russell, its editor. In a previous article we have already alluded to the early career of this original character. He was a man of sturdy determination, a strong belief in him-

was demanded, he made it out and returned it receipted, in compliance with his offer. Washington, however, maintained that it was a debt of honor, and insisted that it be paid. The transaction was creditable to both parties.

With two such champions as Austin and Russell, the battle between the Federalists and Republicans in New England was not likely to flag for lack of interest or display of energy. In time, the rivalry degenerated into a personal feud, in which others also became involved. The son of Austin was murdered by one of his enemies, and Austin himself on a public occasion grossly insulted Russell, who the following day spat in his face. Trials succeeded in both cases; in neither did Austin gain satisfaction, for the juries acquitted the murderer, and practically acquitted Russell by mulcting him in the nominal sum of twenty shillings. In this connection it is worthy of notice that in the newspaper history of New England, we nowhere find any record of such disgraceful duels as have occurred elsewhere in the United States, including New York and Philadelphia. In all such cases the law was appealed to. If it be said in reply that Austin did not find much relief from the laws, we may answer that it would have been as little satisfaction to himself and family if he had foolishly sacrificed his life in vindicating his rights, while his conscience told him that by following the course he did, he aided to uphold the system of law and order on which alone a state can be firmly founded. As in most quarrels, he was not wholly without blame himself for the difficulties in which he became involved.

Besides its vigorous methods on national questions, the *Centinel* also established a wide reputation for the accuracy and breadth of its general intelligence, in which respect, it probably surpassed every other American newspaper of that decade.

During this heated period, when two great parties were actively agitating the best method of raising the superstructure of the Republic on the foundation laid by the Revolution, one of the best Federalist newspapers of New England was the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, which had been started in 1762, by William Goddard, to whom we adverted in a previous article. John Carter succeeded William and Sarah Goddard in the management of the *Gazette*, and with the aid of cultivated writers was able to make it an influential organ of the Federalists.

The Republican party, led by Jefferson, received, on the other hand, efficient assistance from the pen of Rev. William Bentley, of Salem, Massachusetts. Mr. Bentley is one of the most remarkable characters who figured on this continent during the period under consideration. He was

born in Boston, June 22, 1759, and became pastor of the East Church in Salem, in 1783, an office he held until his death, December 29, 1819. His erudition was enormous, and his capacity for work reminds one of some of the German scholars, who seem chained to the desk, apparently neither eating nor sleeping. Besides discharging his ministerial duties with acceptance, including two written sermons a week, to the number of three thousand three hundred sermons, he found time to prepare sixty works, including observations on theology, astronomy, geology, and other natural sciences, and to perfect himself in a knowledge of twenty-one languages, besides acquiring great antiquarian knowledge; as an Oriental scholar, he had not his equal in America. In addition to all this, Mr. Bentley found leisure to correspond with scholars abroad, including those of Barbary and Syria, and to write regularly for the *Essex Gazette* and for twenty

years for the *Salem Register*, a weekly review of current events the world over, besides numerous editorial paragraphs on political questions. His system of a weekly *resume* of news was afterwards copied by several papers, notably the *Boston Traveller*, which established wide repute for the brilliant and often humorous reviews by one of its late editors, Mr. Hazewell. While the *Essex Gazette* remained neutral, Mr. Bentley wrote for its columns, but when it went over "horse and foot" to the Federalist party, Mr. Bentley gave in his adhesion to the *Register*, founded by Mr. Warwick Palfrey, Jr., an uncompromising partisan of the Republican or then Jeffersonian party, and did yeoman's service for the cause of "Jeffer-



REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY.

[Engraved from a photograph of painting.]

sonian simplicity" and all that the term implies. President Jefferson offered Mr. Bentley an important position in reward for his services, but he declined it, his labors being for love, and not for profit. Indeed, he was so well contented with his quiet life-work in Salem, that he never was out of Massachusetts, except three times, once to Maine and twice to New Hampshire.

Mr. Bentley was a man of short stature and of rotund figure, and, as with most original characters, became the subject of many quaint anecdotes, which are still current in that vicinity. At the time the frigate *Constitution* was driven into Marblehead harbor by a British fleet, Mr.

THE
Boston-
 AND
COUNTRY
Containing the freshest Advice,



Gazette,
 JOURNAL.
Foreign and Domestic.

MONDAY, March 12, 1770.

*Like a sorry politician I am,
 To see the things thou dost not,
 SHAKESPEARE.*

A'Writs, in the Boston Chronicle, has
 recently been charged, in direct terms,
 but *grossly*, by irreconcileable
 democrats, guilty of impudence, absurdity,
 sophistry & falsehood. Thus, all this
 has been done, with fair argument and good manners, the
 BOSTONIAN ought, with blushes, to concede.
 But should such gentlemen think such a concession

main matters, now put speedily into execution,
 will suffice to recover us from bondage, and set all
 right.—What I have said, is the language of the
 GOOD OLD CAUSE; If it seems strange to any,
 it will not be more strange I hope than conve-
 nient to you, children! "Then if I have per-
 spetually, tho' few, I had have spoken truly, to
 trees and stones, and had none to hear, but with
 the prophet; O earth, earth, earth! But, I trust,
 I shall have spoke persuasion to abundance of fe-
 ssible and ingenuous men: some, perhaps, whom
 GOD may raise of those stones, to become children

VOTED, That a Committee of Inspection be
 chosen, to make Enquiry from Time to Time, how
 far their votes are complied with.

VOTED, That a Copy of these Votes be trans-
 mitted to the Committee of Inspection in the Town
 of Boston.

*At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of
 Littleton, in the County of Middlesex, on Monday
 March 5th, 1770, a Committee was chosen to
 prepare certain Votes to be passed by the Town
 relating to the Importation of British Goods,*

HEADING TO THE *Boston Gazette*, IN 1770.

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

Bentley was conducting services in the pulpit. Word being brought into church that the ship was in danger, he announced that they could worship God at all times, but could save the *Constitution* only at this juncture; suiting the action to the word he dismissed the congregation, hurried to Marblehead and requested to be placed in command of one of the guns of Fort Sewall. When the danger was past he hastened back to Salem in season for the afternoon service, and preached an extempore sermon from the text, "There go the ships."

It is said that when riding in an old-fashioned sulky to Marblehead one Sunday morning to preach, he was hailed by a squad of the famous Marblehead boys, noted for their audacity and impudence, who cried, "Stranger, give us a ride! Stranger, give us a ride!" Absorbed in thought, the old gentleman paid no attention to the boys, who thereupon proceeded to

climb on the back poles of the sulky in such numbers that the leverage lifted the horse on the edge of his hoofs and stopped his progress. Whether true or apocryphal, we can say of this story, "*se non e vero, e ben trovato.*"

A character quite the opposite to "Parson Bentley," who figured widely on the New England newspaper press about the same time, was Joseph Dennie, the famous author of the series called *Lay Sermons*, and editor of the *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, which was founded at Walpole, New Hampshire, in April, 1793. Although styling himself a lay preacher, Dennie was anything but clerical in his life and deportment, having, it is said, hastened his death in 1812 by convivial habits. He seems, however, under all circumstances, to have been scrupulously neat, not to say finical, in his person—one of his sermons in fact related to the subject of cleanliness. Mr. Buckingham, one of the pleasantest annalists of the New England press, thus describes Mr. Dennie: "I have a vivid recollection of Dennie's personal appearance, in 1796, when I began my apprenticeship in the printing office of David Carlisle. In person, he was rather below than above the middling height, and was of a slender frame. He was particularly attentive to his dress, which, when he appeared in the street, on a pleasant day, approached the highest notch of the fashion. I remember, one delightful morning in May, he came into the office dressed in a pea-green coat, white vest, nankeen small clothes, white silk stockings and shoes, or *pumps*, fastened with silver buckles, which covered at least half the foot from the instep to the toe. His small clothes were tied at the knees, with riband of the same color, in double bows, the ends reaching down to the ankles. He had just emerged from the barber's shop. His hair, *in front*, was well loaded with pomatum, frizzled, or *craped*, and powdered; the *ear-locks* had undergone the same process; *behind*, his natural hair was augmented by the addition of a large *queue* (called, vulgarly, the *false tail*), which, enrolled in some yards of black ribband, reached half way down his back. . . . Among his familiar acquaintances, and in the company of literary men, Dennie must have been a delightful and fascinating companion."



JOSEPH DENNIE.

[Engraved through the courtesy of Dr. Emmet.]

The *Farmer's Weekly Museum* was first called the *New Hampshire Journal*, a name which it eventually changed in order to meet the localities where it found its chief circulation to the cumbersome title of *The New Hampshire and Vermont Journal, or Farmer's Weekly Museum*. The publication of the series called the *Lay Preacher* was a stroke of genius on the part of Joseph Dennie. Nothing of the sort had yet appeared on this side of the Atlantic; the style was fluent, graceful, and spicy, and the subjects selected for these sermons were such as went right to the heart of the people. They were copied far and wide in almost every newspaper

MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1783.

THE

VOLUME VII. NUMBER 693.

INDEPENDENT GAZETTEER; OR, THE CHRONICLE OF FREEDOM.

*That all People have a Right to Freedom of Speech, and of writing, and publishing their Sentiments; therefore the Freedom of the Press ought not to be infringed.—Pennsylvania Bill of Rights.
Dost thou Impugn before your Masters, let it be Impugned in your Children; thus the Liberty of the Press is the PALLADIUM of all the civil, political, and religious Rights of Freeman.—Juvius.*

To the Friends of Science.

It has long been the universal wish, that the public might be furnished with an accurate Geographical and Topographical Grammar of the United States. *Desire*—that those who are not being possessed of the former materials, and not equally interested in this part of these subjects, have filled their accounts of these States with errors, and that the names of the cities, towns, &c., were corrupted. We are independent of Great Britain, and are no longer to look up to her for a definition of our own country.

Desire—equilibrium of abilities, have, in despatch, gratified the public with ample and accurate descriptions of several parts of the United States; but no collection of *Geographical* of this kind, has been attempted, accurate in all its

13. Countries who have distinguished themselves in the late war.
14. An estimate of the amount performed in the last war.
15. The several states.
16. The principal objects of the adjacent islands.
17. The principal rivers, directions and drifts.
18. Constitution, policy—general causes of the late war.
19. Political principles predominant in the several states.
20. Military, naval, and civil force.
21. Public revenue and expense—mode of levying taxes.
22. Infrastructure, their tribes, languages, numbers, character, and dispositions towards the United States.
23. The society of Cincinnati, their laws and influences, and the nature and political tendency of their establishment.
24. Islands.

 **For AMSTERDAM,
THE SHIP**
North-America,
T'is at H'ls, Middx.
EXPECTED to sail in all the **month**
of March—has exceeding good accommodations
for passengers. For freight or passage
apply to the Captain on board, or to
Pragers, Liebaert & Co.
February 20.

To be Sold by Public Virtue,

[Engraved from a very rare original in possession of Dr. Emmet.]

of the land, and for the time procured for the talented author a reputation similar to that of Addison in England.

In 1797, the title of the paper was again changed to *The Farmer's Weekly Museum*, and its circulation extended from Maine to Georgia. In 1799, Dennie was invited to take the editorship of the *United States Gazette* in Philadelphia, an arrangement of short duration, for we find that in 1800 he associated himself with Asbury Dickinson to establish the *Portfolio*, a periodical more to his taste, as being literary rather than political in character. Dennie continued on the *Portfolio* until his premature death in 1812. He composed with great ease, and many of his *Lay Sermons* were written at the village tavern during intervals of card playing.

One of Dennie's contemporaries in Philadelphia was Matthew Carey, a very considerable character in Philadelphia, and prominent in connection with the newspaper history of the period. Carey was born in Dublin in 1760. He was a printer when only fifteen years of age, and at eighteen was prosecuted for printing a libel, and again in 1784, for another against

the Lord Mayor, and was imprisoned during the session of Parliament. He escaped on board a ship in woman's dress, and arrived in Philadelphia, being at this time in his twenty-fifth year. Lafayette, then on a visit to the United States, heard his story, and not only procured influence for him, but advanced \$400 to Carey, who immediately started the *Pennsylvania Herald*. The young printer, publisher and editor attracted immediate attention and patronage by giving the best reports of the Assembly yet published. But the spirited temper of the enterprising young Irishman aroused collisions, one of which, with Colonel Oswald, had serious results. Eleazer Oswald had been a colonel during the war, in which he appears to have served with credit; he was a kinsman of Elizabeth Holt, wife of John Holt, and aided her in conducting the *Journal* after the death of her husband, in 1785 and 1786. They sold the *Journal* in 1787 to Thomas Greenleaf.

John Parke, a poet of the Revolution, addressed, in 1778, one of his paraphrases of the odes of Horace to Colonel Oswald, because, as he says in his preface, of . . . "his many eminent virtues as a brave soldier and citizen. The hardships he has suffered, the toils he has endured, and the many trying vicissitudes he has experienced in the defence of his country, entitle him to the esteem of every patriotic American."

Oswald had an "unpleasantness" with Childs, of the *New York Advertiser*, and subsequently a political dispute with Matthew Carey. This quarrel terminated in a duel, in which Carey was shot above the knee, a wound that confined him to the house for nearly fifteen months.



Col. Eleazer Oswald.

Oswald

[From rare copy in possession of Dr. Emmet.]

During this interval, Carey seems to have been able to continue his editorial labors, and in 1786, with several partners, he started the *Columbian Magazine*, but withdrew from this enterprise the following December, and founded the *American Museum*, a monthly eclectic magazine, which he edited with marked ability for six years. After abandoning the *Museum* Carey entered into business as a bookseller and publisher, and among other works issued a quarto edition of the Bible, called the standing edition—as it was kept in type. Carey also established the Hibernian Society, and undertook with Hugh Gaine a system of annual book fairs, resembling the present trade sales. During his busy life he also wrote several controversial pamphlets; of these the one entitled *The Olive Branch*, or

Vol. III.]

THE

[No. 35.

NEW-YORK MORNING POST.

Printed by MORTON and HORNER, No. 7, Water-Street, between the Coffer-House and Old Slip.

PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY AND FRIDAY.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1783.

HEAD-QUARTERS New-York
Sept. August, 1783.
O R D E R S
IT is the Commander in
Chief's Order that no person
under any pretense whatsoever
shall presume to demolish any

By their Excellencies. —
Sir GUT^t CARLETON, K. B.
General and Commander in
Chief of all His Majesty's Forces
within the Colonies, &c. &c.
in the Atlantic Ocean, from New-

Jul arrived in the IRIE form
LONDON.
And to be sold very low,
By Robert Loofley,
In Water-Street, between the Coffee
House and Old-Slip.
A Variety of GOODS.

BANAN and BURKE,
HAVE received by the Navy, that
Hovey yesterday, after a short sail
from Cork, a parcel of choice New
Rope BOATS, also a parcel of the best
MOUNT CANNON, which they will afford
of for sale, on the most reasonable terms.

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

Faults on Both Sides, was designed to harmonize political factions; such was its popularity that it ran through ten editions. Carey acquired social position and means, dying in 1839. His son, Henry Carey, is well known for his robust works on political economy.

Amid the general activity exhibited by the press on the burning questions of the time, the form of the Federal Constitution, the Society of the Cincinnati, the removal of the capital, or of war with France, another point came up which moved the heart of every printer and editor in the land. This was the question of newspaper postage. It was, indeed, a very serious matter when subscriptions and advertisements were comparatively few, as they were. In 1792, the postage on newspapers was one cent for the first hundred miles, and half a cent in addition for each hundred miles beyond. Much vigor of argument was indulged on the subject. To a writer who declared that it would cost more to send a paper from New York to Savannah than across the ocean, Pickering, the Postmaster-General, replied in print that "the

critic was a liar, who lied because it was natural to him, and because he could not help it." Such language officially emanating from the head of a department at Washington to-day would produce something more than a mild sensation.

The question of postage was of additional importance, owing to the fact that the daily papers began to be issued soon after the close of the

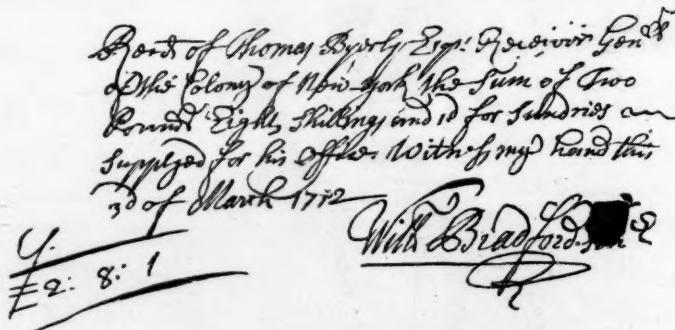


Philip Freneau

[From a valuable print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

Revolution. The first daily newspaper published in the United States was established in Philadelphia, in 1784. Its name was the *American Daily Advertiser*, and its editor and proprietor was Benjamin Franklin Bache, afterward editor of the famous *Aurora*. It was strongly Jeffersonian in tone from the outset, and vigorously opposed the administration of Washington. The New York *Daily Advertiser*, the second American daily

paper, was founded March 1, 1785, by Francis Child & Co. We note in passing that in 1795, the first newspaper published in Maine was started, the *Falmouth Gazette*; two years earlier, in 1793, the *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* was founded in Cincinnati, by William Maxwell, this being the first newspaper north of the Ohio River. The first paper west of the Alleghanies, *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, was already established—in 1785. The New York *Daily Advertiser* had among its editorial writers the well-known John Pintard. The *Advertiser* was strongly anti-Federalist, while he was a vigorous Federalist. The anomaly is in part explained by the fact that Philip Freneau, the editor, and Pintard were friends. The



[Engraved from the rare original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

question of the new constitution was now shaking the republic to its foundations. The excitement ran so high that, as Jefferson wrote: "Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the street to avoid meeting." The publication of the papers called the "Federalist" in the *Independent Journal* of New York, in 1787, may be said to have carried the matter to a climax. One incidental result of the publication of these productions of Hamilton, Madison and Jay was to show the tremendous power of the press. It was through the medium of the newspapers that the "Federalist" reached the people, and the date of its first issue may justly be considered as a decisive event, the opening of a new era, in the history of the newspaper press of this continent.

Amid all the excitement and warfare of words which attended the adoption of the new constitution, we observe one figure who, next to Washington, Jefferson and Hamilton, appears to assume a prominence superior to that of all others engaged in the political contest, not so much perhaps by the weight of his intellect, as by his versatility and vivacity, and the

readiness and keenness of the weapons he brought to the contest. We refer to Philip Freneau; what Tyrtæas was to the Spartans was Freneau to the Republicans or Anti-Federalists.

It is a singular coincidence that on the celebrated 24th of April, 1789, when Washington was escorted across the Bay of New York by a flotilla to enter on his new duties as President, the schooner *Columbia*, commanded by Captain Philip Freneau, the enemy who aroused in him the strongest expressions of wrath of which we have any record in his career,

Volume IV.

T H E

Vol. Number 325

Federal Gazette

A N D

PHILADELPHIA DAILY ADVERTISER.

Printed and published by ANDREW BROWN, in WASHINGTON's Head, in Chestnut-street, near Front-street, where Subscriptions and Advertisements for this Paper, are gratefully received.

Price, of a single paper, Three-pence.

SATURDAY, 5th JUNE, 1790.

Four Dollars and a Half per annum.

Imported in the last vessel from London and Liverpool,
and for Sale by
W. COULTHARD,
at his Store in Chestnut-street, the said door above
ground.

A general and Aromatic of
MERCHANDIZE,
which will be disposed of on low terms, for sale by
the said Coulthard.
May 1st, 1790.

French Burr Mill-Stones.
M.ade by the Subscriber, at his shop, in the Alley

Received by the Ship DE LA MERCE, Capt. VINCENZO ZAFKA, from MALAGA and CADIZ,
Tobacco, in hams and double hams.

Raisins in jars.

Olives, capers and anchovies.

Almonds, figs and fibers.

Sherry and Malaga wine, for gift, on very low terms.
BY ANDREW CLOW, and CO.

April 18, 1790.

The Partnership of COXE and FRAZIER would
be sold by mutual consent the 1st Inst. All those
who have demands on, as well as those who are indebted
to the late partnership, will apply to the Subscribers
for a settlement of their accounts.



For Charter,
in EUROPE or the WESTINDIES,
The Brigantine BERENICE, Capt. John Shultz,
A full sailing-ship, Russell and well found—her
tires about 120 barrels, and now ready for sea. For
terms, apply to the Captain, or
JOSEPH MUSSEL.

At the cheap Printed Calico
and Muslin Warehouse,

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

should have entered the port from a foreign voyage, and joined in escorting the new President to the seat of Government. From the deck of his ship, Freneau stepped to the editorial chair of the *New York Daily Advertiser*, and dictated the editorials which carried fury to every Federalist bosom, and aroused the rage of the great Washington himself.

In all the history of American letters or of the United States press, there is no figure more interesting or remarkable, no career more versatile and varied, than that of Philip Freneau.

Freneau was of Huguenot extraction on his father's side. He was born in New York, January 13, 1752. He entered Nassau Hall or Princeton College, where James Madison was his room-mate. During his college course, he composed the long poem entitled *History of the Prophet Jonah*. On



John Chapman

*The Indian Chief who sinned of yore,
Saw Europe's sons adventuring here,
Looked sorrowing to the crowded shore,
And sighting dropt a tear!*

Prophecy of King Tammany Page 286

Frontispiece by Hyatt & Bailey

FAC-SIMILE OF FRONTISPICE TO THE VOLUME OF FRENEAU'S POEMS, 1800:
AN EXAMPLE OF NATIVE ART AT THAT PERIOD.

graduating, in his twentieth year, he began the study of law, then for a time edited the *Freeman's Journal*, which he finally abandoned for a seafaring life, for which he appears to have had a natural predilection. He entered before the mast, and worked his way up to the command of a ship. During these voyages the poet-captain wrote verses, including the poem

entitled *Beauties of Santa Cruz*, one of his best productions. In 1780, he was captured by an English frigate in the West Indies, and taken to New York, where in sight of his native city he was confined in the dreadful prison ship appropriately called the *Scorpion*. During his confinement he wrote the stirring lines entitled the *British Prison Ship*. He finally escaped from this floating dungeon, but in what manner there is no record. Undaunted by such a rigorous experience, he once more took charge of a ship and after several successful voyages arrived in New York in season to aid in the Republican or Democratic campaign against Washington and the Federalists.

Throughout his active life as sea captain, this American Falconer never relinquished the pursuit of letters, or his interest in home politics, composing in turn verses or humorous satires, which kept his name before the public. He edited the *New York Daily Advertiser* until the government removed to Philadelphia, when he also proceeded thither, became French translator to Jefferson, and established the *National Gazette*. The course of this paper was to attack Washington, Adams, Hamilton, every one attached or supposed to be inclined to the Federal party. The editorials against Washington were so bitter as repeatedly to force him to give vehement expression to his righteous indignation. Jefferson records that on one occasion, in a cabinet meeting, Washington exclaimed, that "That rascal Freneau sent him three copies of his paper every day, as if he supposed he (Washington) would become the distributor of them; that he could see in this nothing but an impudent design to insult him"; he ended in a high tone."

At the present time, we can afford to regard with leniency those who opposed the Federalists through fear of monarchical tendencies, an apprehension honestly held, we are ready to admit, by most of the anti-Federalists, excepting Thomas Jefferson himself, whose sincerity in this matter was doubtless in inverse ratio to his ambition. He knew better than to expect such aims from President Washington; nor can we award even this meed of charity to those partisans who gave in their adhesion to the French Republic during the Reign of Terror. A people who had conducted a war of seven years with the humanity and magnanimity exhibited by the American colonies, had nothing in common with the ruffians who, under the cloak of law, perpetrated the most diabolical horrors in history. Thomas Jefferson knew better than to sympathize in his heart with the Sansculottes of '93. Nor can we respect either Jefferson or Freneau for lowering themselves as they did—the one, while he was in the cabinet, secretly instigating the attacks on his chief, and sometimes indicting them

himself, and the other, his subordinate, perjuring himself by solemnly swearing that Jefferson had nothing to do with this dirty business—an oath he in later years retracted. The entire transaction is a stain on the fair fame of both these distinguished men.

We turn with pleasure from this episode to the time when the *National Gazette*, having served its purpose and expired, Freneau established *The Time-Piece* in March, 1797. But again, in 1798, he decided to forsake the noisome sewers of political corruption to breathe once more the pure air of the wide blue seas from the deck of his own ship. We picture him a wild, soaring, adventurous nature, more at home giving orders on his quarter deck

The Time-Piece, AND LITERARY COMPANION.

Vol. I.]

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1797

[No. 23.

*TRAVELS of ALAS ROBIN in America, during the
Autumn.*

[CONCLUDED.]

Yester November 15, 1798.

A strong current lives at a distance from each other; so
long cannot live at a distance from each other, so
because in such a deserted fare, they are left liable to fall in
their opinions, and consequently left subject to divisions.

In short constantly aim to strengthen the bands which
connect a numerous family; and can there be a more
powerful one than virtue, which unites the heart of the
families, divides the flocks of sheep, and promises the fairest
rewards?—How many millions live and die contented in
each other, merely on account of diversity of opinion in
religion matters! but the man who feels the influence of
true virtue and catholicity, who keeps sternly confounded
in view, and fears for a more intimate union with the

multitude of those men whose strength is the weakness and

divisiveness of the kingdom, and did you not see how willing

the people great and small, under the influence of such a

preacher and his will, and that they are determined that

religion shall no longer be a presence for a man to live

at enmity with his neighbor; i and did you know, My

Lord, how far the great personal benefit, THE UNION

OF IRISHMEN, has already been accomplished, you

would not now attempt to come forward as the dupe of

[Engraved from the original in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

amid rattling blocks, flapping sails, and shrieking gales, than as a landsman engaged in other vocations. He evidently loved the sea, although at times undoubtedly feeling that his active brain was too spacious to find sufficient scope with one pursuit alone. This is doubtless the secret of the restless fickleness he so often displayed in his long life of eighty years. On finally quitting the sea, he continued his literary pursuits, including poetical commemorations of the naval victories of the war of 1812. A collection of his poems was published in 1809 in two volumes; the frontispiece of the first is reproduced here as an example of the native art of the time. The dramatic career of Philip Freneau ended in a manner corresponding to his life. He perished in a snow storm in 1832, near Freehold, New Jersey, in his eightieth year.

In person Freneau was slight, somewhat under medium height, but muscular; his eyes were dark gray. There must have been something very engaging in his manner and conversation, for he had many sincere friends,

including such men as Prevoost, the first American bishop of the Episcopal Church in New York State, and the late Dr. John W. Francis. He seems even to have been respected by some of the victims of his satirical muse. It is related that Hugh Gaine, on meeting him after the severe lashing he received, said: "You are a clever fellow. Let me have the pleasure of taking you by the hand. Will you walk around the corner and join me in our parlor? We will take a glass of wine together. You, sir, have given me and my paper a wide reputation."

This is not the place to enter into a criticism of the poetry of Freneau. But we may say that it contained many verses which indicated genuine and original talent; there is no question that Campbell and Scott condescended to borrow ideas from him, even whole lines. With better advantages he might have reached a higher pinnacle. In any event, his name will live in our literature when some of the finished and brilliant writers of our time, who are more concerned about how to say a thing than about what they say, are forgotten; for he wrote with earnestness, and was not ashamed to throw his whole soul into whatever he did. After all has been said, enthusiasm remains the great factor in the world's progress.

Many other prominent characters might properly be mentioned in the history of the newspaper press of the United States at this period, including Joel Barlow, author of the "Hasty Pudding," who established the *Hartford Mercury* in 1783, and continued to edit it for two years with ability; but our purpose has been rather, in this particular paper, to give a rapid sketch of a few of the more prominent editors who through the press influenced the destinies of the republic until the final removal of the seat of government, in the year 1800, to Washington.

S. G. W. Benjamin

AN INTERESTING HISTORICAL LETTER

COMMANDER ALEXANDER SLIDELL MACKENZIE TO HONORABLE OGDEN
HOFFMAN, 1843

Twelve or fifteen years ago, when my brothers and myself had grown up, and chosen professions for ourselves, and my father, Admiral R. W. Shufeldt, United States Navy, now retired, was obliged to break up our old home, we were given each one according to his right, a number of the relics that had accumulated during former years in the household. Quite a budget of old and in several instances valuable letters fell to my share, among which I discovered the original document written by Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, United States Navy, addressed to the Recorder of his Court of Inquiry, in defense of his act in hanging young Spencer, aboard the United States brig *Somers*, for mutiny. It will be remembered that Midshipman Spencer's father was Secretary of the Navy at the time, and the affair has passed down into the history of this country as one of its most notable events.

This letter is written on both sides of unruled foolscap paper, now brittle and stained with age. The whole is enclosed in a wrapper of the same kind of paper, upon which other matters are written, and is addressed to "Hon. Ogden Hoffman," "Warren Street near Chapel on the South Side." This part of the letter is very much mutilated and time-worn, but I have endeavored to decipher the words upon it with care.

So far as I can learn this document has never appeared in type, and as such data in these days is being extensively collected and published, I deem it worthy of similar preservation. It reads as follows:

May it please the Court

Although it has been determined by the Court that a written defence of my Conduct, founded on the examination of the evidence that has been adduced is unnecessary, and under the circumstances, unadmissible, I trust that the Court will not refuse to receive from me a brief statement of the reasons that produced the conviction in my mind on which I acted, that the execution of the three ringleaders of the intended mutiny on board the *Somers* was necessary to the preservation of the vessel. It is true that these reasons may be collected from my report to the Secretary of the Navy which has been read before the Court; but they are no where stated in connection, nor with that distinctness and brevity that are necessary to impress their force on the mind of others. My report to the

Secretary was intended to be a full history of all the proceedings on board the *Somers*, for his information alone, and was very far from being framed with any direct view to my own vindication.

I proceed then, under permission of the Court, to submit the following facts and considerations as the reasons that chiefly determined my conduct. How far their reality or sufficiency is established by the evidence are questions that, without a single remark, I shall leave to the judgment of the Court.

First : I was influenced by my deep conviction of the reality of the plot disclosed by Mr. Spencer to Mr. Wales. Although I received the first communication with incredulity, yet when I reflected upon the earnestness and solemn manner in which the disclosure was made, and the strong impression of the reality and imminence of the danger made upon the mind of Mr. Wales himself my doubts vanished, and my mind was filled with the most earnest solicitude to discover and adopt the proper means for arresting the horrors which were meditated. I at once determined to adopt no measure but after mature deliberation, to shrink from none that the preservation of the lives of those entrusted to my care, the honour of my country, and my sense of duty should demand. Whether the influence of this determination is not apparent in all my subsequent acts I submit to the judgment of the Court : I believed then in the existence of a plot in which, by the declaration of Mr. Spencer, at least twenty of the crew were concerned, and which in my own opinion the majority of the crew were willing to be accomplices.

The nature of this plot, involving the murder of the officers and a large portion of the crew, and the commission of almost every crime, convinced me that those who had joined in it were capable of carrying it into execution and committing any atrocity. This opinion was further confirmed by my previous knowledge of the depraved character of the crew, and by the fact that many of them although men in [the word "size" erased] strength and size, were still boys in age, and consequently would be little likely to resist temptation, and more easily allured by the pleasures held out to them as accompanying the life of a pirate. Having stated the reasons which produced the conviction in my mind of the existence of the plot, it only remains for me to state those which induced me to change my original determination to bring the prisoners to the United States for trial, and to deem their immediate execution necessary.

I was influenced in this change of determination : First by the insubordination of the crew, manifested after we had left the Coast of Africa, and very much increased after the arrest of the prisoners ; their gloomy and angry looks ; their secret conferences, broken off when an officer approached ; their increased reluctance in the performance of their duty ; the actual disobedience of some ; the attempts of several to communicate with the prisoners ; by the confident and even insolent air of the prisoners themselves, though confined for a crime which rendered them liable should they be taken home to the punishment of death, clearly showing that they expected and had prepared a rescue ; by the [words erased here] hardihood ["of" erased] which had been [the last three words written over the erased "of"] evinced in carrying away the main top-gallant-mast with the certain expectation of knocking Gazely overboard and thus creating dismay and confusion on board, an act committed moreover in fair weather and broad day, too surely evincing what they were capable of in tempestuous weather and in darkness. All these circumstances convinced me that there was danger of a rescue, and that this scheme was in constant agitation.

Secondly : by the uncertainty under which we laboured as to the extent of the mutiny.
Vol. XVII.—No. 2.—9

and the inutility and danger of attempting to ascertain, by an examination of the crew, how many were to be relied on. Let it be supposed that the whole crew had been examined, and all had protested their innocence and ignorance. Could we have believed and trusted them? Would the uncertainty have been removed or diminished? On the contrary, must not the universal denial and profession of total ignorance [last five words written over the line] have increased and justified our suspicions of universal guilt? We must still have believed that many were guilty and could not have known that any were innocent. If the examination had resulted in the discovery of the certain guilt of many of the suspected, our difficulties would have been still greater. To confine and guard them was impossible. To leave them at large, with a knowledge that their guilt was known, and that, if they arrived in safety, death might be their doom, was to render them desperate and an outbreak inevitable.

Thirdly: by the exhaustion of the officers, and by the impossibility that they could much longer sustain the fatigue to which they were subjected, and by the fact that from loss of rest and continual exertion we were daily losing strength, whilst that of the mutineers, from increasing numbers, was daily becoming greater.

Fourthly: by the conviction that, even if it were possible for the officers to defend themselves and their vessel in fair weather, if a storm should arise, calling the attention of the officers and petty officers from the prisoners [two words scratched out] and [a word scratched out] mutineers still at large, to the necessary duties of taking care of the vessel, it would have been easy for a few resolute men to have released the prisoners and taken possession of the vessel.

Fifthly: by the size of the vessel, which rendered it impossible to confine more prisoners, and prevent those already confined from communicating with each other, and with those of the crew at large.

Finally: by the conviction that [a word scratched out] the execution of the three ringleaders, would not only relieve the minds of the rest of the mutineers from apprehension occasioned by the consciousness that the ringleaders possessed secrets that might be fatal to many whose guilty participation in the plot might otherwise remain uncertain, but deprive them of the power of navigating the vessel, as none of the survivors would be capable of taking charge of her, and that this was the only effectual method of bringing them back to their allegiance, and preserving the vessel committed to my charge.

Having thus briefly stated the motives which produced the belief in my mind that the immediate execution of the three principal ringleaders was necessary, I will only add that the sacrifice of life was limited, not only by the obvious guilt, the courage or the hardihood of the conspirators, but by [word scratched out] necessity alone, and kept at some remaining risk within its bounds; that in adopting [last word written over the line] the alternative thus forced upon me [two words scratched out] a solemnity and calmness of deliberation was observed: That in executing the law of [last word written over the line] which the ringleaders had incurred the penalty, I observed as many of the forms as were within my reach; and that those forms which would have been perfect had I been a flag officer, and those composing the council of officers, been, as three of them actually were, commissioned instead of warrant officers.

Had any doubts as to the necessity of the course to be pursued existed in my mind, they would have been removed by the unanimous opinion of the commissioned, warrant and petty officers, whose means of judging the temper of the crew were better than my own, that such a course was necessary and inevitable. Their opinion, concurring with my own,

left me no room to doubt that in pursuing that course I was doing my duty faithfully to my God and to my country.

I have the honour to be very respectfully

Your most obedient

Alex. Slidell Mackenzie

Commander U. S. N.

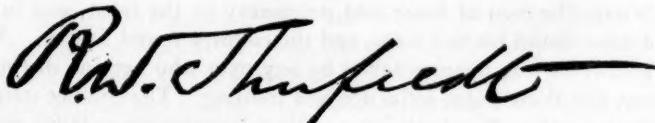
U. S. S. North Carolina, January 18. 1843.

To the Court of Inquiry.

As already stated, the wrapper to this letter is very much mutilated, it originally having been a sheet of paper like that upon which the letter is written, and sealed with red sealing-wax.

Commander Mackenzie has written across the face of this wrapper some important lines to the court, but the paper is so much torn that it is now impossible to decipher all that he intended to convey, though enough remains for us to know that another statement to the court originally existed, but it was "rewritten" and the above letter "substituted" for it. This postscript is signed with his full name and rank, apparently written at Tarrytown, and dated 19 Jan'y 1843. and addressed to Hon. Ogden Hoffman as "Judge Advocate" of the Court. Below it, on the same side of the wrapper, are four memoranda lines, unsigned, in Commander Mackenzie's handwriting, wherein he says: "My wife has made a fair copy and sent it to Mr. Claxton to save him trouble in case the court assents. We have waited 2 hours on the dock to complete this task before going to our children, and hope that it may not have been in vain."

During our late civil war I was aboard of a United States gunboat at the time several hundred Confederate prisoners mutinied and were with difficulty suppressed; thus I can fully appreciate, not only the unusually trying position in which Captain Mackenzie found himself, but the forcible picture he presents in his statement of defense before the Court of Inquiry.



FORT WINGATE, NEW MEXICO.

SENATOR JOHN A. LOGAN

Readers of the *Magazine of American History* will turn with sorrowful interest to the exceptionally fine portrait of the late Senator John A. Logan, with which, only a twelve-month ago, this publication opened its New Year's volume for 1886. The able contribution of the distinguished soldier and statesman to that same number of the Magazine—January, 1886—on "*Slavery in America; Its Origin and Consequences*," will now be re-read and studied with renewed earnestness and appreciation. John A. Logan's name must ever hold a conspicuous place in American history. He died on the 26th of December, and was consigned to his resting-place in the tomb on the 31st—the last day of the eventful year, 1886. The whole country mourns the loss of the patriot and statesman, whose long public career has been full of usefulness and honor, and whose personal integrity is without a stain. Even his bitterest political enemies have ever respected his perfect simplicity and honesty of character. Ex-postmaster General Hatton says of him, "Since Grant died there has been no man so close to those who served in the army, and I do not think any man has been so regarded by old soldiers as their especial friend. In political life he was as aggressive as he was in military life. His political victories were all won by hard fighting and against great odds. No one ever accused him of having a dollar of unearned public money, and his political contests were made without the aid of money." The Hon. Chauncey M. Depew says, "General Logan was a strong and picturesque figure. He may have been hewn out of rough material, but the mold of the man was almost heroic. He had little sentiment, yet he won a sentimental popularity that made his name a household word. It is the crisis in a country's history that brings the men of force and originality to the front, and in the civil war Logan found his first fame, and the country found Logan. As a volunteer soldier he was unapproached by any man who became distinguished without the West Point influence and training. The conflict stamped him as a genius in handling battalions. West Pointers concede his greatness in the field. Before 1861, he was an aggressive and venomous pro-slavery man. He went into the war doubted and aspersed by thousands, and came out of it a hero. His new faith flamed up into a patriotic zeal that made him a tower of strength. No other soldier had so much impetuous valor combined with such a cool and comprehensive judgment."

MONUMENT TO GWINNETT, HALL AND WALTON

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In front of the City Hall, in Augusta, Georgia, may be seen a shapely granite obelisk, twelve feet square at the base, and tapering to a height of fifty feet. Surrounded by a substantial iron railing, this simple, solemn, enduring structure—with a marble slab inserted in its southern face, whereon are engraved in *alto relievo* the coat of arms of Georgia and the names, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, and George Walton—rises in honor of the three signers from Georgia of the Declaration of Independence. It was the intention of the public-spirited citizens who builded it to commit to final repose beneath the foundation stones of this monument the remains of the distinguished patriots whose joint memories it was designed to perpetuate. With this end in view a committee was appointed to open the graves and superintend the removal and the reinternment of the bones of these worthies.

In the case of Lyman Hall no difficulty was encountered in carrying this purpose into effect. The tomb upon his plantation in Burke County, in which he was buried, was well marked, and all that remained of his honored dust was capable of easy identification. The committee experienced some trouble in locating the grave of George Walton. Although the place of his sepulture was remembered by some of the aged inhabitants, no stone marked the precise spot in the family burying ground at Rosney, some nine miles from Augusta. A careful search, however, eventuated in undoubted success. The right femur still gave evidence of the wound which Colonel Walton had received in December, 1778, when, during Colonel Campbell's assault upon and capture of Savannah, shot through the thigh, he fell from his horse and was captured by the enemy. Thus recognized beyond peradventure, the remains of Hall and Walton were, nearly thirty-six years ago, removed from their respective graves and recommitted to the earth beneath the monument in Greene Street.

It was found impossible to ascertain the last resting place of Button Gwinnett. He had died in Savannah of a mortal wound inflicted by General Lachlan McIntosh, when those gentlemen, in 1777, settled their disagreements with pistols at the short distance of four paces. While it was generally believed that Gwinnett had been interred within the old cemetery on South Broad Street in that city, no stone inscribed to his memory could

be discovered, and there was no one in life to point out his unmarked grave. Consequently the desire of the citizens of Augusta to confide to the protection of this monument the dust of all three of the signers from Georgia of the Declaration of Independence was not wholly consummated.

When completed, the obelisk was dedicated with impressive formalities. Judge William T. Gould pronounced the oration, and the Masonic ceremonies were conducted by the Honorable William C. Dawson.

Gwinnett was an Englishman: Hall was a native of Connecticut: and Walton was a Virginian. Georgia, however, proudly claims them as her adopted sons, and the city of Augusta by this memorial testifies, in enduring form, her grateful appreciation of their services in the cause of freedom.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, December 18, 1886.

WHEN DID OHIO BECOME A STATE?

The seventeenth State in age, and third in rank, has entered upon the eighty-fourth year of its existence with a dispute unsettled concerning the date of its admission into the Union. It would seem well, that having outgrown all save two of the older States and all of the new, it should be no longer vexed with doubts respecting its natal day.

No less than seven dates have been given in various published works for the admission of Ohio into the Union. These are: April 28, April 30, June 30, and November 29, 1802, and February 19, March 1, and March 3, 1803; two of which may be dismissed without consideration, as they rest on no known fact or event—April 28, and June 30, 1802. Of the five remaining dates, April 30, 1802, is the first, chronologically, to be considered. A note in the United States Statutes at large is the chief authority sustaining it. It must be borne in mind that from April 7, 1788, the time of the first settlement at Marietta, the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the Ohio River lived under the celebrated Ordinance of July 13, 1787, as their constitution or fundamental law. Through its operation, the first local laws suited to the condition of affairs were adopted and published in the district by the governor, and three judges appointed by Congress. This government continued until 1799, when, the district having five thousand free male inhabitants, the governor and legislature made and executed the laws under the "Ordinance." A territorial government existed from the autumn of 1799 until the spring of 1803. Early in 1802, the unpopularity of Governor Arthur St. Clair increasing through his frequent exercise of the veto power, and the population approaching the required number, an enabling act was secured from Congress, authorizing the people of the Territory to take the first step toward its admission as a State into the Union. As by no known process of reasoning can the first step be construed as the last, in legally transforming a Territory into a State, the date of the enabling act, April 30, 1802, which authorized the election of persons to frame a constitution, cannot be accepted as the date when Ohio entered the Union. The first constitutional convention that assembled in Ohio pursuant to the act of Congress completed its labors, and adjourned November 29, 1802. The constitution that was framed provided for the election of a governor and legislature for the new

State on the second Tuesday in January, 1803. It also ruled, in Article II., Section 13, that, "No member of Congress or person holding any office under the United States or this State shall execute the office of governor." But General St. Clair continued to exercise the functions of territorial governor until December 14, 1802, when he received a letter from President Jefferson removing him from the office, and appointing in his stead, Charles W. Byrd, as acting territorial governor, who discharged the duties of that office until the promulgation of the act of February 19, 1803, recognizing Ohio as a State.

Now, if Ohio became a State on November 29, 1802, through a self-executing, self-enforcing constitution, without a State executive, a State judge, or other State officer elected until the following year, why were not Governor St. Clair and Governor Byrd impeached for exercising executive functions without an election? And if Ohio was a State in the Union on December 14, 1802, why was not President Jefferson impeached for removing one governor of a "sovereign and independent State" and appointing another? The most eminent exponent of the doctrine of "State sovereignty" has certainly done nothing so abhorrent to all conceptions of that "sacred entity," called a State, as to appoint an elective governor of one. But the men who made this Ohio constitution did not suppose that it lifted the State and themselves into the Union when they signed it, for Dr. Edward Tiffin, president of the convention, and Thomas Worthington, a leading member, straightway proceeded to Washington to *apply* for the admission of Ohio into the Union. They obtained a hearing on December 23. The *House Journal* reads: "The speaker laid before the House letters from Edward Tiffin and Thomas Worthington, inclosing a copy of the Constitution, and an ordinance containing certain propositions for the consideration of Congress, and an address from the convention that framed the Constitution of Ohio; all of which papers were read and referred to a committee, composed of Messrs. Randolph, Elemndorf, Goddard, Henderson, and Archer, with instructions to examine the matter and report the same, with their opinion thereon, to the House." We first hear from the work of these Ohio agents in the Senate on January 5, 1803, when the *Senate Journal* informs us that upon motion, it was ordered "That a committee be appointed to bring in a bill for giving effect to the laws of the United States within the State of Ohio." Without following this bill through its different stages it is sufficient for our purpose to say that on January 19, the proper committee of the Senate reported that it found the constitution and government of Ohio republican in form, and that it was necessary to establish a district

court to carry into complete effect in said State the laws of the United States. The bill thus bringing Ohio under the authority of the laws and the Constitution of the United States, passed the Senate February 7, the House February 12, and was signed by the President February 19, 1803. This being the first act of Congress recognizing the existence of Ohio as a State, it must be taken as the virtual act of admission of the State into the Union. The two constitutional duties imposed upon Congress, under Article IV., Sections 3 and 4, of admitting new States, and of guaranteeing to them a republican form of government, were thus entered upon and performed. In the *Executive Journal* of the United States Senate for the year 1803, page 433, is this record:

I nominate Joseph Wood, of the North Western Territory, to be Register of the Land Office at Marietta in said Territory, *Vice* Peregrine Foster, resigned: and Griffith Green, of the North Western Territory to be Collector for the District of Marietta, in the North Western Territory, and Inspector of the Revenue for the same.

January 11, 1803.

TH JEFFERSON.

It is safe to say that Thomas Jefferson knew enough of the geography of his country to properly locate Marietta. The President of the United States, if any one, might be presumed to know how many States comprised the Union, and whether Ohio was then one of the number. Yet in his annual message of December 15, 1802, he makes no allusion to the admission of Ohio, and as late as January 11, 1803, he is still unaware that any such State exists. But twenty days later the President's knowledge is in conformity with the facts, for he nominates Charles Willing Byrd of Ohio, to be judge of the district of Ohio; Michael Baldwin of Ohio, to be attorney for the United States in the district of Ohio, and David Zeigler to be United States marshal. These nominations were sent to the Senate, March 1, 1803. From the collection of *Charters and Constitutions* printed by the government in 1877, it appears that the Senate had the same understanding as President Jefferson as to the date of Ohio's admission, for the act of February 19, 1803, occupies the same place filled by the formal acts admitting into the Union all other States. With such decisive proofs, it seems superfluous to argue further; and we trust this long historical controversy as to the true date of Ohio's birth as a State will be settled for all future generations.

James Q. Howard

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID HUNTER

[PROMINENT MEN OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD]

Those who have been familiar, for many years past, with the faces and persons to be met or seen on Pennsylvania Avenue and other principal streets and walks in Washington, can hardly fail to have noted, since early in 1886, the absence from those scenes of one striking and interesting figure. The erect form, the quick, alert step, the bright black eye, and the eager interest taken as he passed in all the surroundings, of a gentleman of more than fourscore years, whose flowing, snow-white locks were almost his only mark of great age, were sure to command general observation. And thus the citizen, whose pleasure it was to know to whom these personal characteristics belonged, followed with interested and admiring regard, and pointed out to others who had not acquaintance with him, our venerated countryman, David Hunter, major-general of the United States Army, on the retired list. General Hunter died suddenly, February 2, 1886. Up to the last hour of his life on that day he had been abroad, taking his accustomed morning exercise, engaged in affairs, and attending to social duties. It is a comfort to the friends who survive him to remember that he thus passed away, and went without suffering to his rest at the end of a long life of usefulness and brave devotion to duty.

General Hunter was born in New Jersey, July 20, 1802, his father being a Virginian of well-known family, a chaplain in the United States Army. Of his childhood and youth there is little record remaining. The lessons of his life are to be found in his later years, and should not lightly be allowed to pass unnoticed, because it is to be hoped that always some benefit may come to his country and to the world from the example of a good, gallant, loyal, earnest man. The writer of this article enjoyed General Hunter's intimate and valued friendship only during the years since the close of the civil war; but had many opportunities for becoming familiar with his career previous to the time when his public services were a part of the history of our country.

Graduating from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1822, young Hunter was assigned to the Fifth Regiment of the United States Infantry. This regiment was sent to the Western frontier, Hunter's post, with part of the regiment, being at the Falls of St. Anthony, on the

upper Mississippi, then quite beyond the limit of civilization. The traveler who now visits the populous State of Minnesota, or the beautiful and stately cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, teeming with their scores of thousands of inhabitants, and marvelous for their enterprise, wealth, and great industries, finds it difficult to realize how remote and wild a region it was in Lieutenant Hunter's youth ; to reach it, he was compelled, in a journey which lasted three months, to traverse a wilderness beset with difficulties and dangers, suffering often from exposure, and glad to have occasional relief from fatigue by transportation in a small river-boat, or on a sledge over the snow.

In this frontier service our young officer continued eleven years ; years of activity and of hardship—of marches, of Indian fighting, and of wild adventures. But they were years which helped to develop and fix the character of the man. Such was his excellence and repute as an officer and soldier that when the first regiment of United State Dragoons was organized he was selected and commissioned as a captain in that body. It was only, however, to go into still more active and arduous service, as he and his company were called on to make long raids and expeditions into and through the Indian country, often carrying war for the protection of the advancing settlements of white men to the homes of the hostile savages. After three years of cavalry service, having in the interval married and found it necessary to give to his private and personal interests more of the care and attention which they required, and more of his time than could be consistently spared from the absorbing duties of his profession, he resigned his captaincy, in 1836, and devoted himself for six years to business engagements in civil life.

But the military habit, and the military spirit, were still in the ascendant. The sword might be turned into the plowshare, or the spear into a pruning hook, but the trained and educated soldier could not be easily tamed down into the quiet civilian. Having left the line of the regular army Hunter could not recover his place in that organization, but, his tastes and desires still turning naturally and strongly to the companionship and adventures of arms, he applied for and obtained a commission on the staff. He was restored to the army in 1842, by appointment to the office of paymaster, with the rank of major. He never quitted the service again. In this branch of the service, he proved himself in various fields a most energetic and efficient officer. He was stationed, or rather traveled, in the line of his new duty, actively, from post to post where troops were to be paid, in Arkansas and Florida, encountering often again in these regions the adventures and hardships of life in the rough to which

he had been so inured in his earlier career. But the war with Mexico came in 1846, and gave him a new experience. On the staff of General Zachary Taylor, he was selected for, and intrusted with, the very responsible position of Chief Paymaster of the Army of Occupation. Throughout the war, and in its brief but brilliant and successful campaigns, he acquitted himself with an intelligence and capacity which sustained the reputation he had acquired, and it was well understood in army circles that it was at Hunter's suggestion the ground was selected on which the battle of Buena Vista was fought. After the Mexican war he was engaged in a round of successive duties at various posts in the West, and on the frontier, until the whole country was startled and shocked by the distracting and ominous approach of our civil war. Then it was that men's very souls were tried, and that new, crucial, and most searching tests of courage and patriotism were needed, and had to be applied. Major Hunter was then on duty at Fort Leavenworth. The intenseness of his loyalty, his devotion to the Union, and his abhorrence of every treasonable purpose and project for the overthrow of constitutional government were well known. But it was, alas! a time when, even among officers of the army, allegiance to the flag was in many instances undermined and wavering. He had, however, no sentiment for nor sympathy with secession. After the election of Mr. Lincoln the temper of those who were infected by the growing spirit of disloyalty began to manifest itself more openly. Many proofs were given of an existing design to conspire against and prevent a peaceful inauguration of the incoming President. Conspirators in the interest of a mad and excited South were known to be contemplating an obstruction of the journey of Mr. Lincoln to the capital; and angry threats were made, that if, to that end, assassination by the way were necessary, he should not reach Washington alive. Major Hunter was alive to the danger indicated by these revelations. He communicated his knowledge of these evil intentions to the President elect; and steps were taken to guard his passage on the road from his home in Illinois to the seat of government, and to secure his safe and orderly induction into the high office for which he had been constitutionally chosen by the people.

Major Hunter was invited by Mr. Lincoln to accompany him to Washington. After the inauguration he was assigned, by order of General Scott, to the charge and protection of the President's house and person. During a period of six weeks, at this exciting and critical time, he remained day and night at his post in the discharge of this delicate and responsible duty, having under his command to aid him a body composed of a hundred gentlemen from various States of the Union, who enrolled

themselves as volunteers for this patriotic service. But then, with the cloud of civil war bursting into active hostilities, came the need of call to every patriot and to every man who looked with veneration up to the old flag, to take the place for which he might be in any degree qualified, and in which he might best prove his devotion to the Union. Hunter was appointed on the 14th of May, 1861, colonel of the Sixth Cavalry, a newly organized regiment of the regular army. Soon after, as volunteer troops in answer to the call of the President began to arrive at Washington, he was assigned to the command of a brigade stationed on the Virginia side of the Potomac. Relieved from this command, in which he was succeeded by Colonel (now General) W. T. Sherman, he was placed at the head of the right division of the army assembling under General McDowell, to advance southward against the Confederate enemy gathered in force in the direction of Manassas. Early in the battle of Bull Run, while encouraging and leading in person the advance of his division, in the heat of the fight, he was severely wounded in the neck and compelled to quit the field, the command of the division thereupon devolving on Colonel Andrew Porter, of his first brigade. The gallantry and energy of Hunter displayed at Bull Run, and his proven and acknowledged military merit and capacity led to speedy promotion. He was appointed successively brigadier-general of volunteers, to take rank from May 17, 1861, and a major-general of volunteers, to date from August 13, 1861.

As soon as he had so far recovered from his wounds as to be fit for duty he was ordered to report to General Fremont, then commanding the Western Military Department, with headquarters at St. Louis, and was assigned to the command of the First Division of Fremont's army, moved with it in the advance on Springfield, Missouri, and at that point, on the 2d of November, 1861, by direction and under instruction of the President, relieved General Fremont, and assumed the command of that department and army. It was at this juncture that General Hunter received, direct from the President himself, one of those autograph letters of advice which Mr. Lincoln was accustomed to send to his generals in the field—letters which, while they evince the watchful care and observation with which he followed every movement of the Union forces at the front, at the same time, in their clear, terse, unpretending and often quaint style, were wonderful models alike of his modesty and his sagacity. An old officer, who was himself of marked professional education and experience, once was led to remark that a most interesting and valuable collection of these letters, with proper annotation, might be made and published under the title of "Lincoln as a Military Man." In a report of his services fur-

nished by General Hunter shortly before his death, in answer to a call from the War Department, is found a full copy of this letter, as follows:

Washington, Oct. 24, 1861.

Sir : The command of the Department of the West having devolved upon you, I propose to offer you a few suggestions, knowing how hazardous it is to bind down a distant commander in the field to specific lines and operations, as so much always depends on a knowledge of localities and passing events. It is intended, therefore, to leave a considerable margin for the exercise of your judgment and discretion.

The main rebel army (Price's) west of the Mississippi is believed to have passed Dade County, in full retreat upon Northwestern Arkansas, leaving Missouri almost freed from the enemy, excepting in the southeast of the State. Assuming this basis of facts, it seems desirable, as you are not likely to overtake Price, and are in danger of making too long a line from your own base of supplies and reinforcements, that you should give up the pursuit, halt your marching army, divide it into two corps of observation, one occupying Sedalia, and the other Rolla, the present termini of railroads ; then recruit the condition of both corps by re-establishing and improving their discipline and instruction, perfecting their clothing and equipments, and providing less uncomfortable quarters. Of course, both railroads must be guarded and kept open, judiciously employing just as much force as is necessary for this. From these two points, Sedalia and Rolla, and especially in judicious co-operation with Lane on the Kansas border, it would be so easy to concentrate and repel any army of the enemy returning on Missouri from the Southwest, that it is not probable any such attempt to return will be made before or during the approaching cold weather. Before Spring, the people of Missouri will be in no favorable mood to renew, for the next year, the troubles which have so much afflicted and impoverished them during this.

If you adopt this line of policy, and if, as I anticipate, you will see no enemy in great force approaching, you will have a surplus of force, which you can withdraw from these points and direct to others, as may be needed, the railroads furnishing ready means for reinforcing these main points if occasion requires.

Doubtless local uprisings, for a time, will continue to occur ; but these can be met by detachments and local forces of our own, and will, ere long, tire out of themselves.

While, as stated in the beginning of this letter, a large discretion must be, and is, left to yourself, I feel sure that an indefinite pursuit of Price, or an attempt by this long and circuitous route to reach Memphis, will be exhaustive beyond endurance, and will end in the loss of the whole force engaged in it.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

General Hunter, giving this letter, as he said, "to show the soundness of Mr. Lincoln's judgment even in military affairs," added, "the idea of chasing Price into the wilds of Western Arkansas, and thus putting the army entirely out of position, and preventing operations on the lower Mississippi during the winter, was so absurd that I should not have thought of it for a moment, even if I had not had the good advice of Mr. Lincoln."

But Hunter's command of the Western Department was of short duration. He was relieved on the 9th of November, 1861, by order of General McClellan, and transferred to the command of the Department of Kansas. General Halleck was sent to succeed him in Missouri. The exact reason for this change was never made quite clear; but it seemed to have been occasioned by apprehension in the mind of McClellan that some jealousy or dissatisfaction had grown out of the superseding of Fremont. The short winter spent by Hunter in Kansas was uneventful, but not passed idly. Having no force of the enemy to encounter or look after within his own Department, he busied himself effectively in the organization of troops, and in furnishing valuable assistance to the commanders in Missouri and New Mexico. He was prompt in answering their appeals to him for help, and did not hesitate or wait, but assumed at once in every emergency, the responsibility of any such service. Among the proofs of his energy and patriotism in this direction may be cited the following letter from General Halleck:

St. Louis, Feb. 19, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUNTER,
Department of Kansas :

To you, more than any other man in this Department, are we indebted for our success at Fort Donelson. In my strait for troops to reinforce Gen. Grant, I appealed to you. You nobly and generously placed your forces at my disposition. This enabled us to win the victory. Receive my most heartfelt thanks.

H. W. HALLECK, *Major-General.*

General Hunter also, without instruction, and on his own judgment of the emergency, sent a regiment of mounted Colorado volunteers, by forced marches, to reach and aid General Canby in New Mexico. This regiment was commanded by General John P. Slough; and it was their brilliant victory over the enemy at Cañon Glorieta which saved the territory to the Union. But it was not the policy of the government at Washington to keep an officer of Hunter's experience and energy where his time must be passed in comparative inaction. He was ordered to relieve General Thomas W. Sherman, and, as his successor, assumed the command of the Department of the South on the 31st of March, 1862. His first effective service there was the bombardment and reduction of Fort Pulaski. The Department of the South at that time consisted of the territory embraced in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. It was more than a field for military watchfulness and military enterprise. It was a region occupied by a community in which were to be met and faced and disposed of questions of burning and exciting character, requiring to be handled

with peculiar tact and unflinching boldness. Should the slaves of rebels in arms be turned into a force to be used against their insurgent masters? Should freedom be declared for those held in bondage, as against those who could claim to be their owners only by virtue of local laws and constitutional protection, which they themselves had violated and defied? Were men bound in unnatural thraldom to be restored to their natural right of liberty as a justifiable means for bringing those who profited by this enforced service to a due sense of their obligation of allegiance? Were the rebels to be left to the advantage of being supported and supplied, while fighting at the front, by the uninterrupted labor of their negroes behind them? Above all, might not the enslaved race be enlisted and organized into a force to be used as a legitimate weapon of warfare to compel the rebellious masters to submit to duty and the law? General Hunter was, in his convictions on these points, in advance even of general Northern sentiment, and in advance of the national government. And his courage was always equal to his conscientious convictions. He issued, in succession, two orders—one proclaiming freedom to the slaves within his department; the other providing for the embodiment of these freedmen into a regiment to be employed on the Union side in the war. The government at Washington, if not the country, was as yet unprepared for these decided and radical measures. The President repudiated and disavowed any authority given to a military commander to make such proclamation of emancipation; but in reality no announcement to that effect was transmitted to General Hunter, nor any direct expression of disapprobation of his action. He seems to have simply been the brave exponent of ideas and wishes timidly entertained at headquarters. It is thus that the single-hearted and enthusiastic leader in a great movement or popular cause often anticipates and helps to show the way to the grand end for which others, moving up slowly and hesitatingly, get afterward the principal credit. The true, daring man strikes while others are waiting for rule and precedent. As to the policy of employing negro troops, the former slaves of Confederates, General Hunter urged that upon the attention of the government from the time of his taking command in the South, "not only," to use his own language, "as adding to the number and efficiency of our own forces, but chiefly on account of its depriving the enemy of just so much labor in the fields, and compelling them to send an equal number of white men to do the necessary cultivation." But in this, as in the great work of emancipation, the authorities were not yet up to the time. Public opinion, or rather public cowardice, paralyzed conscience. And it is a sad fact that Hunter's negro regiment raised in South Carolina,

although reported by him "a great success," learning and practicing well the drills and duties of the soldier, was never recognized nor paid. It was neither rejected nor accepted as a part of the military force. But the President himself did not fail, before many months had passed, to express his appreciation of the value of such troops and the importance of employing them. On the 1st of April, 1863, he addressed to General Hunter this autograph letter:

"Private."

*Executive Mansion, Washington,
April 1, 1863.*

Major-General Hunter:

"My dear Sir: I am glad to see the accounts of your colored force at Jacksonville, Florida. I see the enemy is driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected. It is important to the enemy that such force shall not take shape and grow and thrive in the South; and in precisely the same proportion it is important to us that it shall. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them, and we should do the same to preserve and increase them.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

But Hunter's fearless action and treatment of this difficult problem was not passed unnoticed by those who condemned the course which he deemed it his plain duty to pursue. In Congress Mr. Wickliffe, from Kentucky, called attention to what he regarded as a heinous offense in a military commander, denounced the employment of the negroes as soldiers, and procured the passage of a resolution of inquiry on the subject. This inquiry, addressed to the government, was referred by the Secretary of War to Hunter, for answer and explanation, and elicited from him immediately a report in reply. This report was so characteristic of the bold, good man who made it, and at the same time so clear and conclusive, that it deserves to be transcribed and preserved among the most important historical documents of our civil war.

*Headquarters, Department of the South,
Hilton Head, S. C., June, 1862.*

To the HON. E. M. STANTON,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the adjutant-general of the Army, dated June 13, 1862, requesting me to furnish you with the information necessary to answer certain resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives, June 9, 1862, on motion of the Hon. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, their substances being to inquire:

1. Whether I had organized, or was organizing, a regiment of fugitive slaves in this Department?

2. Whether any authority had been given to me from the War Department for such organization ; and,

3. Whether I had been furnished, by order of the War Department, with clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, and so forth, for such a force ?

Only having received the letter at a late hour this evening, I urge forward my answer in time for the steamer sailing to-morrow morning—this haste preventing me from entering as minutely as I could wish upon many points of detail, such as the paramount importance of the subject would seem to call for. But in view of the near termination of the present session of Congress, and the widespread interest which must have been awakened by Mr. Wickliffe's resolutions, I prefer sending even this imperfect answer to waiting the period necessary for the collection of fuller and more comprehensive data.

To the first question, therefore I reply : that no regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this Department. There is, however, a fine regiment of loyal persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels—men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the national flag, leaving their loyal and unhappy servants behind them to shift, as best they can, for themselves. So far, indeed, are the loyal persons composing this regiment from seeking to evade the presence of their late owners, that they are now, one and all, endeavoring with commendable zeal to acquire the drill and discipline requisite to place them in a position to go in full and effective pursuit of their fugacious and traitorous proprietors.

To the second question, I have the honor to answer that the instructions given to Brig-Gen. T. W. Sherman by the Hon. Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, and turned over to me, by succession, for my guidance, do distinctly authorize me to employ all loyal persons offering their services in defense of the Union, and for the suppression of this rebellion, in any manner I may see fit, or that circumstances may call for. There is no restriction as to the character or color of the persons to be employed, or the nature of the employments—whether civil or military—in which their services may be used. I conclude, therefore, that I have been authorized to enlist fugitive slaves as soldiers, could any such fugitives be found in this Department. No such characters, however, have yet appeared within view of my most advanced pickets—the loyal negroes everywhere remaining on the plantation to welcome us, aid us, and supply us with food, labor, and information. It is the masters who have in every instance been the fugitives, running away from loyal slaves as well as loyal soldiers ; and these, as yet, we have only partially been able to see—chiefly their heads over ramparts, or dodging behind trees, rifle in hand in the extreme distance. In the absence of any 'Fugitive Master Law,' the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy had not the crime of treason given the right to pursue, capture, and bring back those persons of whose benignant protection they have been thus suddenly and cruelly bereft.

To the third interrogatory, it is my painful duty to reply that I have never received any specific authority for issues of clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, and so forth, to the troops in question—my general instructions from Mr. Cameron, to employ them in any manner I might find necessary, and the military exigencies of the Department and the country, being my only, but I trust sufficient, justification. Neither have I had any specific authority for supplying these persons with shovels, spades, and pickaxes, when employing them as laborers ; nor with boats and oars when using them as lighter-men ; but these are not points included in Mr. Wickliffe's resolution. To me it seemed that liberty to employ men in any particular capacity implied and carried with it liberty, also, to sup-

ply them with the necessary tools; and, acting upon this faith, I have clothed, equipped, and armed the only loyal regiment yet raised in South Carolina, Georgia, or Florida. I must say, in vindication of my conduct, that had it not been for many other diversified and imperative claims upon my time and attention, a much more satisfactory result might have been achieved; and that in place of only one regiment, as at present, at least five or six well drilled, brave and thoroughly acclimated regiments should by this time have been added to the Loyal forces of the Union.

The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and marvelous success. They are sober, docile, attentive, and enthusiastic—displaying great natural capacities in acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are now eager beyond all things to take the field and be led into action; and it is a unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them, that, in the peculiarities of this climate and country, they will prove invaluable auxiliaries—fully equal to the simular regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West India Islands.

In conclusion, I would say, it is my hope there appearing no possibility of other reinforcements—owing to the exigencies of the campaign in the Peninsula—to have organized by the end of next fall, and be able to present to the Government, from forty-eight to fifty thousand of these hardy and devoted soldiers. Trusting that this letter may be made part of your answer to Mr. Wickliffe resolution, I have the honor to be most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(signed)

DAVID HUNTER,
Major-General Commanding.

This report, brave and frank, but full of stinging irony, being communicated to Congress, its effect on the public mind, as reflected in that body, was at once apparent. An act was passed authorizing the raising of fifty thousand negro troops, as the beginning of an open and avowed policy in this particular in the conduct of the war. But in the South, too, as well as in the North, this use of the negro force, inaugurated by General Hunter, attracted to that officer an enviable notoriety. The virulence of feeling engendered in the Confederate Government at Richmond, exploded in the following remarkable document:

*War Department, Adjutant and Inspector-General's Office,
Richmond August 21, 1862.*

GENERAL ORDERS—NO. 60.

Whereas, Major-General Hunter, recently in command of the enemy's forces on the coast of South Carolina, and Brigadier-General Phelps, a military commander of the enemy in the State of Louisiana, have organized and armed negro slaves for military service against their masters, citizens of this Confederacy. And Whereas, the Government of the United States has refused to answer an enquiry whether said conduct of its officers meets its sanction, and has thus left this Government no other means of repressing said crimes and outrages than the adoption of such measures of retaliation as shall serve to prevent their repetition, *Ordered* that Major-General Hunter and Brigadier-General Phelps be no longer held and treated as public enemies of the Confederate States, but as

outlaws ; and in the event of the capture of either of them, or that of any other officer employed in drilling and organizing slaves, with a view to their armed service in this war, he shall not be regarded as a prisoner of War, but held in close confinement for execution as a felon, at such time and place as the President shall order.

*By order, S. COOPER,
Adjutant and Inspector-General.*

This shameful Confederate proclamation, while it gave evidence of the frantic alarm which caused its issue, was unattended by any practical results. It was never withdrawn ; and until the end of his life General Hunter could proudly refer to it as unintended proof, furnished by the enemy, of his military sagacity as well as his love of freedom. But that enemy was not known, except perhaps in a single instance, to have attempted its enforcement. The government of the United States allowed the insulting edict to go unnoticed, but General Hunter himself has left on record a very interesting account of the effective measures he took to protect those of his own command. "One of my officers," he wrote, "had been taken prisoner near St. Augustine, Florida, and thrown into the common jail in Charleston. He informed me by an open letter, sent by a Confederate flag of truce, that he was to be sent back to Florida to be tried by the civil courts on a charge of exciting an insurrection of the negroes. I immediately notified the Confederate authorities that I would at once seize and place in close confinement all citizens of any influence within my lines, and would immediately execute three of their number for every one of my officers injured. In a few days I received another open letter from this office, saying that he had been released from confinement, was treated most kindly by the people of Charleston, and was on the first opportunity to be sent North for exchange."

General Hunter, commanding the army in co-operation with the naval force under Rear Admiral Du Pont, during the operations against Fort Sumter and the city of Charleston in the spring of 1863, gave to the President and to the Secretary of War, full and detailed reports of the situation and movements in that quarter. These are narratives of much historical interest, but too voluminous to be reproduced here. They are to be found recorded and embodied in part in the printed *Report of Military Services*, furnished by him in compliance with an order from the War Department in 1873. The views and plans of General Hunter always looked to the most vigorous and active use of the forces at his command. But he was not always seconded in his desires for such energetic movements. His course was criticised. But, as usual, the severest of his critics were some of those whose knowledge of military operations was acquired

by catering for the public press, at a distance from the seat of war, and generally in blessed ignorance of the situation. He never, however, failed to have the full confidence of the President; and when, in June, 1863, he was relieved from the command of the Department of the South, Mr. Lincoln wrote to him in terms of the strongest assurance: "The change was made for no reasons which convey any imputation upon your known energy, efficiency, and patriotism."

Smarting under information from the President himself that the editor of the *New York Tribune* was largely instrumental in procuring this change of commanders in that quarter, the sensitive old veteran may be pardoned for the sarcasm of this letter sent to that eminent journalist:

PORT ROYAL, SOUTH CAROLINA,
JUNE 12, 1863.

H. Greeley, Esq., New York.

Sir: Since you have undertaken the attack on Charleston, I sincerely hope you will be more successful than in your first advance on Richmond, in which you wasted much ink, and other men shed some blood. It is clear, from your paper, that you knew nothing of the orders which bound me to a particular course of action, which orders I strictly followed, and for obeying which I am censured. Worse than any wound our enemies can inflict, are the stabs in the dark of personal friends. The country must be informed that you have charge of this second attack on Charleston, so that on you may rest the praise or censure.

Very respectfully
Your most obedient servant
D. HUNTER.

Mr. Greeley, it is believed, made no answer; and Fort Sumter and Charleston were not taken.

General Hunter, ever awake to the direction and exigencies of the occasion, appears to have had advanced views on other points relating to the conduct of the war. While holding command in the South, he repeatedly urged the President and the Secretary of War to consider the advantage that might come from sending an expedition through the interior of the Confederate States. He begged to be placed in command of such an expedition. He proposed to land a force at Brunswick, in Georgia, and march through that State, Alabama and Mississippi to New Orleans. After he was retired from the command at Charleston, he still dwelt on the importance of a movement through the heart of the Confederacy; and writing, in August, 1863, from Louisville, Kentucky, strongly and enthusiastically to Mr. Stanton on the subject, he said:

There are now crowded into the States of Alabama and Georgia over two millions of negroes, furnishing four hundred thousand fighting men, all ready, willing and anxious to

be drafted, and making much better soldiers than most of the men who require six and seven hundred dollars to induce them to '*volunteer*.' Twenty, fifteen or even ten thousand men marched rapidly into these States, without baggage, without artillery, subsisting on the country, carrying arms and ammunition for the negroes, and officers enough for one hundred thousand men, could go without serious opposition, directly from Vicksburg to Charleston.

I think you will find that this small force can now well be spared, and I am confident it could march from the Mississippi to the Atlantic without serious opposition. A general rebellion among these crowded negroes would certainly produce great demoralization throughout the rebel army. The corn crop is very abundant, and if we can get nothing else we can live on the corn. We certainly should be able to do whatever the rebels can. The negroes would know every path, as they make most of their visits in the night, and we should thus be able to march just as well at night as in the day. I beg you will telegraph me to this place authority to take charge of an expedition of this kind.

There is every reason to believe that if the government at Washington had, at that time, approved and authorized the execution of Hunter's project, it could have been carried out with complete success, breaking into and through the hollow crust of the Confederacy, and carrying dismay and defeat from the valley of the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast. Under greater difficulties than would then have probably been encountered, at a later period in the war, the "march to the sea" was accomplished by another great and brilliant leader, but the credit of the idea remains with Hunter none the less, as one of the proofs of his military forecast and sagacity.

In the autumn of 1863, and through the succeeding winter, General Hunter was busily and actively occupied in the duty of inspecting and reporting on the condition of all the troops in the Mississippi valley under the command of General Grant, and the troops with General Banks on Red River. But, advancing as he was in age, the field, the march, the bivouac, the stirring adventures of the old-time cavalry officer, were more to the taste of Hunter, and in May, 1864, he was gratified to be ordered to command the Department of Western Virginia. It was not a service in which one of his habits could be idle. His rule in that Department was distinguished by the daring raid which, with a force of about eighteen thousand men of all arms, he organized and led up the Shenandoah Valley, and back westward over the Blue Ridge, occupying Lexington, destroying the important works for the construction of ordnance for the Confederacy at Buchanan, and, by "an audacious movement," to use the language of Jefferson Davis, reaching "the very walls of Lynchburg." This expedition was a means of inflicting much injury on the enemy, and inspiring in them no little terror. Until its management and results were better understood,

however, and during the subsequent threatening approach of the enemy on Washington, and the attending popular excitement, this campaign was severely criticised. Without other comment now on such fault-finding, it is sufficient to cite what was promptly written by General Grant, on the 14th of July, 1864, to the Acting Secretary of War:

I am sorry to see such a disposition to condemn a brave old soldier, as General Hunter is known to be, without a hearing. He is known to have advanced into the enemy's country, towards their main army, inflicted a much greater damage upon them than they have inflicted upon us with double his force, and moving directly away from our main army. . . . I fail to see yet that General Hunter has not acted with great promptness and great success. Even the enemy give him great credit for courage, and congratulate themselves that he will give them a chance of getting even with him.

In August, 1864, General Hunter was, at his own request, relieved from the command in Western Virginia. This was the last of his field service. The war closed in the spring of 1865. But, to mark the appreciation of this veteran officer by his government, he was honored by brevet promotions, successively, as a brigadier-general in the United States Army on the 15th of March, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Piedmont, and during the campaign in the Valley of Virginia," and as a major-general in the United States Army, of the same date, "for gallant and meritorious services during the Rebellion."

The high consideration in which General Hunter was held led to his being frequently detailed to serve on important army boards and courts-martial. Among the most noted instances of his being called to such service, he was in 1862, while in command of the Department of the South, ordered to preside over the court for the trial of General Fitz John Porter; and in 1865 he was president of the military commission for the trial of the assassins of President Lincoln. Such trusts were but the due recognition of his intelligence, his integrity, and his honor.

This completes the outline account of the public career of Hunter. It is a simple narrative, drawn from authentic records—a brief sketch of events and services, compiled by the hand of a loving friend who is unwilling to think of one of the remarkable men who figured in our great struggle for the preservation of the National Union being forgotten. And yet the writer hopes only to attract the notice, and refresh the memory, for a moment, of a new generation, who are enjoying the blessings which were fought for and secured by the energy and wisdom of those who are lately dead or fast disappearing. In regard to men who have held official position and done great public service, the people are like one who stands looking at a passing procession. The spectator gives no heed to those

who have gone by; but his attention is wholly occupied with the movement of those immediately in front of him; unless occasionally when he cranes his neck to get sight of the faces, and speculate on the appearance of such as are marching in that portion of the line which has not yet come up. But in the case of General Hunter, the heart of friendship is not satisfied with recalling and dwelling only on his merits and performances as a man in public life. In his private, personal, and social character and relations, he was so true, good and lovable, that no one who knew him could speak of him in cold or measured terms. "The noblest of all noble fellows—both gentle and fierce," was what the gallant Rear-Admiral Raymond Rodgers said in describing him to General Halpine—the "Miles O'Reilly" of war literature. And no juster, truer picture could be drawn than that which came from the pen of Halpine himself, who served long on Hunter's staff in close and confidential daily intercourse with him: "In my whole experience of human nature—and it has been exceedingly varied—the purest, gentlest, bravest and most honest gentleman I have ever had the means of knowing thoroughly, is the officer in question. . . . David Hunter lives in my memory, and must while memory lasts, as a character free from any vice, so incapable of any baseness, that I have often thought four years of life not wasted if only for making me by that experience to realize that such a manhood as his was yet possible in this soiled and dusty world."

In closing this article, a word may properly be added, concerning an incident of recent occurrence. The present Congress of the United States, being in session at the time of General Hunter's death, promptly passed through both Houses, without objection, a bill bestowing on the venerable and estimable widow the usual monthly pension, accorded by special act to the widow of an officer of his rank. It is a strange and painful fact that the President of the United States surprised and shocked the general sense of justice and propriety by withholding his assent to that bill. The reason assigned for this departure from a generous usage was purely technical. But that reason was, at the same time, a blunder both as to the law and the practice. It is charitable to believe, as was stated in his place, by a distinguished senator from New Hampshire, that this action of the Chief Executive may be imputed to ignorance, and not a worse motive; and it is reasonable to hope that before the Forty-ninth Congress ceases to exist the error will be corrected.

Robt. C. Schenck

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S UNLUCKY PASS

The following incident is from the private papers and memoranda of a gentleman high in the Secret Service Department during the late civil war. He had partly written the story for publication prior to his death, thus it is given in his own language. The facts have been carefully compared with official documents, and are found correct in every particular. No publicity was ever given to the affair, it having been kept from the press entirely, and it appears now for the first time in any form save that of an official report. It is believed that outside of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, the lady and gentleman mentioned in the article, and the officer from whose notes the account has been obtained, the details of this incident were wholly unknown. For obvious reasons, real names are not given. The two principal actors in the scene are still alive, and history would in no way be benefited by making public matters which might wound their feelings. Late one night in the fall of 1863, the following telegram was received by the provost marshal in the city of Baltimore:

Colonel Fish :

"War Department, Washington, D.C.

Information received at this office renders it almost certain that a lady about sixty years of age, name unknown, visiting her daughter or daughter in law at Syracuse, New York, is preparing to run the blockade with several trunks containing articles contraband of war and otherwise. I hope you may be able to take means to secure this person and her baggage, *no matter under what circumstances she may present herself.*

(Signed)

Edwin M. Stanton."

The wording of the telegram, as will be observed, was peculiar, and the fact that such a telegram should be written at all about an ordinary smuggler was somewhat puzzling. Knowing that our bluff Secretary seldom wasted words on any matter I was forced to the conclusion that there was more in this affair, or, at least, that *he* knew more about it, than he cared to say through a dispatch, and although nothing was ever said by him as to this presumption on my part, yet events which afterwards occurred in working up the matter proved my surmise to have been correct. It was worse than useless, however, to be losing one's self in abstract speculations concerning a matter which required immediate action. Secretary Stanton evidently intended this dispatch both as information and as an order, although the order was not well defined. Syracuse was many miles distant; it was fair to presume, in a place of that size, there might be more than one "lady about sixty years of age, name unknown, visiting her

daughter or daughter-in-law ;" but, would there be more than this one "preparing several trunks?" Here was a faint hope of being able to get some trace, if we only had the proper person or persons there to investigate; but to send a stranger upon a matter which required such accurate and minute local information would clearly never do. Whether Syracuse had a good police force, and whether its chief was "loyal," was a matter better understood now than then; knowing they must have a postmaster, and presuming from the fact of his being a government officer that he was loyal and trustworthy, a copy of the telegram was sent to him, with a request that he would take measures to inform me if he could obtain any clew to the person mentioned.

This postmaster proved to be a good officer, and his heart was evidently in the Union cause, for in a very short time he sent back word that such a person had been there visiting her daughter-in-law for some time, and that she had left for New York city the week previous, taking with her three large trunks which he had positive information contained medicines, dry goods and "Yankee notions;" sorry he did not know this before, and could he be of any further assistance? Of course he could not be expected to do anything further, and it was very uncertain whether any one, at this late hour, would be able to proceed with the case, for the clew, very slight at first, had now become so frail that the chance seemed small indeed of ever finding the lady or her desired trunks. The fact of her having gone to New York was bad enough, but to have it occur "more than a week ago," seemed a climax of the complication. She had had time to escape with her effects, and before this might have been in Nassau, congratulating herself on her success; still there was a chance that she had been taking matters more leisurely than we supposed, enjoying the good things of New York thoroughly and lingeringly, before voluntarily shutting herself away from them by going into the Southern States. She had taken her own time in Syracuse, might she not do the same in New York?

While no probable chance could be thought of whereby Mr. Kennedy (superintendent of police in New York) could render any assistance in this matter, yet there was a possibility, and it was thought proper to leave no means untried; therefore a history of the case was prepared and forwarded to him for such action as he might think proper in the premises. A more complete description would have assisted him in the search, but he was given already all we had. "A lady about sixty years of age, with three trunks; came from Syracuse a week ago, doubtless *via* Hudson River R. R." A small thread indeed to follow in a city of a million inhabitants. Thus the matter stood for at least two weeks, when there came a little ray

of light from New York. A lady who would answer the description had gone to Washington several days back, and she might be in that city at present; still there could be nothing positive about it.

This might, or might not be information; if indeed it was "our lady," we did not believe it possible for her to get through the lines at any point this side of Eastern Tennessee without a pass from this office, unless she should have unusual influence "at court" and manage to obtain a pass directly from Mr. Lincoln, which was a very rare achievement. No flurry was necessary, for, if this had been her intention, she had doubtless perfected her plans so thoroughly before reaching Washington that all had been consummated; or, which seemed more probable, she had failed. In either case, she would be compelled to come to this office herself finally; in the first event to get her pass countersigned ere it would be accepted by the Bay Line steamers, and, in the second, to try for a pass here for herself.

No developments had occurred in this direction for some two weeks after the date of the information mentioned above, as to her (or some one something near the description of her) having left New York. But in the midst of a mass of correspondence one morning, I was interrupted by the orderly who informed me that a lady and gentleman wished to see me as to a pass.

"Why do you let them trouble me with this matter? Show them to the desk of the officer in charge of that business," I said.

"I could not help it, sir. I directed them to Lieutenant Walker, but they insist on seeing you," was the courteous reply.

"Well, show them in, but don't permit this to happen again; people must learn to transact their business with the proper officers," I remarked with some asperity.

The door swung open somewhat impatiently, and there entered a lady past middle age, rather tall and commanding in her appearance, a pleasant but decided cast of features, an unmistakable air of gentility and breeding pervading everything about her, and tastefully and quietly dressed in mourning. She was accompanied by a middle-aged gentleman whom I recognized instantly as one of the most eminent lawyers of the city, a gentleman of wealth and high social standing, but with the reputation of being at heart a sympathizer with the South. These were the visitors who would not be put off, and although the subject had been entirely out of my mind for some days, yet as I rose to receive them it came like an inspiration that this was the lady I had for more than a month been seeking. Presenting chairs, they, especially the lady, were reluctantly seated; she

seemed to think her dignity demanded that she should in no manner accept the hospitalities of the office; but after a short hesitation, catching the eye of her escort, she accepted the proffered seat. Waiting a few seconds for the visitors to make their business known, I asked in what manner they could be served. The lady partially rose as if intending to come toward me to speak earnestly, but her friend with a very slight motion to her to remain seated, said :

"We are sorry to disturb you, and are aware you seldom give personal attention to individual passes, but the circumstances are so peculiar, we have presumed to come to you direct rather than deal with one of your subordinate officers."

A gesture of assent was given, as he seemed to pause for such, and he proceeded :

"The lady who accompanies me is the wife of one of your —, one of the general officers in the Federal Army. She has relatives in the State of Virginia, whom she is anxious to visit, and has obtained a special permit from Mr. Lincoln to do so, but upon presenting herself at the gangway of the steamer last evening and tendering her pass from the President, to her astonishment she was informed it was of no avail without being countersigned by you. Unable to understand why this was necessary and unacquainted with the location of your office, the boat being about ready to start, she was forced to abandon for the time her undertaking, and was driven to a hotel. Having had for many years the honor of her acquaintance, she came to my house and solicited my assistance, if any was needed, in seeing you to have this matter (which we presume is of form only) made straight."

A square, straightforward story, said in few words, and to the point, if we except the little stumble as to the side the general officer was on; and had it not been that the lady was "about sixty," and an unaccountable presentiment that she was the one we had been so long seeking, they would have been immediately furnished with the required pass, and dismissed, but with all these suspicions it could not be done, at least without some questions. Turning toward the lady, I asked :

"Will you allow me to look at your pass?"

She presented it somewhat ostentatiously, almost defiantly. Sure enough, there it was, all perfectly *en regle*; the signature was well known, and besides this, the whole body of the pass was in the unmistakable handwriting of Mr. Lincoln.

"Officers and guards will pass the bearer, Mrs. —— through the lines via Fortress Monroe, unmolested and her baggage undisturbed." A. LINCOLN."

Rather a tough document to get over; if my surmises as to the holder were correct, however, under the circumstances, it was deemed best to shrink from nothing, even to ignoring a document as clear, concise, and of as high authority as this.

Remarking that "this seemed to be all right," she was asked "why she had waited so long before availing herself of the document, its date being some days back?"

She replied that she "had been visiting friends, and knowing it to be good at any time, had been in no haste."

"Have you been North long?"

Madame started abruptly at the question; straightening herself in her chair, she replied:

"I fail to see how any such questions bear upon our business; you will excuse me if I decline to answer."

The gentleman, at this point, rose abruptly and somewhat nervously. "Perhaps I can smooth this difficulty," said he, advancing to the desk. "Mrs. —— has been for a long time with her daughter in the North, and availing herself of the known and tried loyalty of her gallant husband, has asked for and obtained the safe conduct you see, in order to enable her to visit near and dear friends in less fortunate circumstances."

Turning toward the lady again, who, evidently taking her cue from her friend, had relaxed somewhat in manner, I asked:

"Madame, you will pardon me, but there are a few questions it will be necessary for me to ask. Is your daughter-in-law living in Syracuse?"

"Yes, sir."

"You went from that place about a month since to New York?"

She bowed.

"About two weeks since you went from there to Washington?" I continued.

"Yes, sir; I did. But of what interest I pray can the recital of all this possibly be to you?"

"Excuse me, madame, but one more question. Where is your baggage at this time?"

"You are becoming impertinent, sir," said she, rising. "My trunks are at Barnum's, where I took rooms last evening; and I decline to answer any further questions."

This conversation had all been conducted so quietly and respectfully, that it was doubtless the most distant thing from the minds of either the lady or gentleman that there was any possible doubt of the ultimate success of their undertaking; indeed, how could it be otherwise? Were they

not armed with the protection of the highest authority in the United States? This being the fact, what had they to fear? It was their province to give orders, not to obey; true, some little official routine must be conformed with, but in face of the document held, all *must* bend to their will.

Touching a bell, the orderly making his appearance was directed to inform Lieutenant Morris to report immediately. As the lieutenant came into the room and saluted in his quiet, impassive manner, the smothered anxiety or curiosity of both the lady and gentleman, which had begun to manifest itself from the moment I had sent for the officer of the guard, could be no longer contained; both started to their feet impatiently, angrily.

"What is the meaning of this remarkable conduct?" said the gentleman, vehemently. "Am I to understand, sir, that you are about to dare to controvert the orders of the President of the United States?"

"Remain perfectly quiet, sir, if you please. It simply and positively means that I am about to place this lady in arrest, as you will see. Lieutenant, you will take charge of madame. Conduct her to her hotel; see that she needs nothing to make her comfortable in her own rooms, where it will be necessary for her to remain until further orders, and in the meantime she is to hold no conversation with any person without a special permit from these headquarters."

The poor old lady sank back in her chair as white as death. "What?—what, sir?" she gasped; "arrest? arrest me?"

The lieutenant, obeying an almost imperceptible gesture, took two or three steps toward where she sat. The gentleman, who had apparently been stunned and bewildered by this sudden turn of affairs, now recovered, and in truly manly style came to the rescue. Stepping out as if to intercept the officer, his voice trembling with suppressed excitement, he turned toward where I was standing, exclaiming:

"How dare you, sir? Are you insane? Do you know who she is? Your power, I well know, is considerable, indeed too much—but there *is* a limit. You shall not do this thing. She is here under the protection of the chief magistrate of the nation, her husband one of the most gallant officers in your army" (the "your" came out squarely this time, his indignation having made him forget his guard), "and she shall not be insulted and outraged by you, a subordinate, who, because clothed in a little brief authority, seem to consider yourself infallible, and unaccountable to any one for your actions." Turning again to the officer, he said: "Touch her at your peril."

The lieutenant looked inquiringly, then, evidently satisfied there was to be no change in his orders, respectfully requested the lady to accompany him. She rallied from the startled and frightened condition into which she had been thrown, and as he addressed her she rose to her feet with dignity and a certain stately manner which well became her, saying with emphasis :

"I will make no scene; I will go with you, but dearly shall that man," pointing toward me, "suffer for this indignity."

"One moment, lieutenant," I remarked. "Madame, we shall be compelled to trouble you for your keys."

"Never," she broke in impetuously, "never shall you have them unless taken by force. Is there then *no* limit to your insolence?"

"Madame, it is imperative, and it will be so ordered that your three trunks be brought to this office. Should you refuse us the keys, we shall be compelled to break the locks. This we dislike to do, but should we have to do so, you must not after this positive assurance blame us for so doing. This whole affair is to be regretted, but under all the circumstances, and in the face of previous orders, I see no alternative. It is fully understood what liabilities are being incurred, and we do not shrink from the responsibility. If there is any one you particularly desire to send for, inform your friend and your wishes in that respect shall be obeyed."

She haughtily drew herself up, as she replied : "My friend," with somewhat scornful imitation of manner, "is abundantly able to take the proper steps to punish this insult, without any suggestions from you. As for myself, I can cheerfully endure a short imprisonment for the sake of the satisfaction I shall certainly soon feel in seeing you justly punished for this high-handed misdemeanor." Without a tremor, with a stately bow to her companion, she waved the officer in front of her and marched after him out of the room, erect and dignified. Her friend closed the door and turned back, saying :

"That I am astounded at your presumption, and shocked at your want of feeling, I need not say. But, sir, that is not all; I shall take the next train to Washington, and lose no time in laying your extraordinary behavior before the authorities you have insulted and outraged. You may expect to hear from me again in a very few hours, and unless I am more mistaken than ever in my life, your present quiet and cool demeanor will be changed more than you will care to have it."

Assuring him of my perfect willingness that he should take the course he proposed—nay, more, that it was impossible to see how he could honorably in friendship to the lady take any other—he was also informed that

everything had been done upon mature reflection, and that there was no desire to shrink from any responsibility incurred through what seemed to him an arbitrary and unjust course. He went away with every indication of being highly incensed, and a positive prospect of a coming retribution upon the head of the man who had wrought this unforeseen disturbance.

Within a very short time the three trunks arrived, *with the keys*. Upon opening them, it was apparent the postmaster was correct as to their contents. If any further evidence had been needed as to the expediency of seizing them, they would have furnished it themselves, and had Mr. Lincoln known what he had been cajoled into passing unmolested over his signature, he would without doubt have been excessively displeased at those who had, wittingly or unwittingly, assisted in the deception so successfully attempted. The same evening our friend, who had so energetically made a raid upon Washington, returned. Entering the room with a brisk, satisfied step he presented me with an important "I told you so" air, a document bearing the impress of the War Department and addressed in the bold, nervous handwriting of Mr. Stanton.

"It is as I expected, sir," said he, as he laid it upon the desk, "and I have good reason to believe when you have read that letter that you will most heartily regret the steps you have taken in this matter." Opening the envelope there was found, what it was natural to expect from the information they had at Washington, viz.: a peremptory order from the Secretary of War "to immediately release the lady from arrest, restore her baggage, furnish her with a pass, and show cause why you should not be dismissed the service for disobedience of orders."

Short, curt, and to the point. Just such a document as any one knowing our irascible Secretary would expect. Our friend watched closely while the communication he had delivered was being read, evidently expecting to see a marked change of countenance.

"This is precisely what was expected," I said, laying the open letter on the desk; "he could not well have written anything different, knowing what he does, as yet, of this affair."

"Well, sir," exclaimed my visitor, "you do not pretend to say you refuse to obey that direct order? I was astonished at your audacity before, but *this* is inconceivable. May I ask, sir," mockingly, "*who* is the real conservator of power at the present time in these unhappy United States? My old foggy notions had always led me to believe the Secretary of War superior to any subordinate, and that deliberate, willful disobedience of orders was a crime to be most severely dealt with; but it seems I

am mistaken, or else not educated up to the *advanced* age. May I ask what you *do* intend to do in this matter?"

"Certainly," I replied blandly. "It is proposed to immediately answer this letter by telegraph, stating what action has been taken; also to make a written report, in which reasons will be set forth why the course has been taken which evidently seems so unaccountable to you. Upon receipt of answer to this proposed report, it will be possible to give you information as to probable final action in the case. Until that time things must remain precisely as they now stand."

"I trust that I shall yet see you humbled in this matter. Shall I be allowed to see Mrs. —— and provide for her comfort? Or does it suit your convenience to render her as unhappy as possible?"

"You can see madame, if you desire it. But as far as personal comforts are concerned, she has the best a first-class hotel can afford, and is restricted in nothing but permission to leave her apartments, and intercourse with the outside world except through this office. She also has female attendance from the servants in the house. Very many people in this city would be most happy to be similarly situated, as far as necessities, or even luxuries, are concerned."

Accepting a permit to visit his friend, the gentleman went away, evidently discouraged. The support he had so strongly leaned upon had as yet proved of no avail, although it was apparent he was far from believing but that all would yet be reversed, as was natural from his stand-point of view. Yet the quiet composure and confidence in which all that had seemed so extraordinary to him had been done, had shaken him quite considerably in this belief. As soon as he was gone a telegram was sent to Mr. Stanton, stating that, notwithstanding his last and peremptory order it had been thought proper to stay the execution of it until he could be put in possession of further and complete information as to the case, which there were strong reasons for believing would cause him to revoke the order and approve of the action taken at this office, and that a full report should be sent next mail. Such report was prepared, giving the case in detail; first quoting his telegram of a month back, and emphasizing the sentence, "*I hope you will be able to take such measures as to secure this person and her baggage, no matter under what circumstances she may present herself*"—and then giving each step in the prosecution and development up to the present time, finally assuring him this was the person spoken of, and inclosing an inventory of the contents of the trunks.

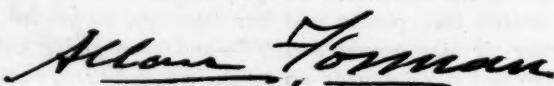
The next morning's mail brought an autograph letter from him, most
VOL. XVII.—No. 2.—11

heartily approving the course taken, and leaving the whole case for the final and usual disposition in such matters, further stating that the matter had been laid before Mr. Lincoln and that this letter was written with his consent and approval. Some regrets were also expressed that no intimation had been previously received from this office as to the nature and bearings of the case, which would have prevented the summary tone of his previous communication brought by the gentleman interested.

In a very short time the gentleman in question entered, evidently a wiser and a sadder man. It was apparent he had been to Washington again, faithful to his trust, determined to leave no means untried to assist his friend. Mr. Stanton's letter was silently handed to him; he read it carefully and remarked sorrowfully that, "it was past his comprehension. That when subordinate officers presumed to dictate to their superiors, and were upheld in it, it boded no good to the country," etc.

To his inquiry as to "whether it was decided yet what the final disposition alluded to was," he was informed that the lady should have her own personal effects; to wit, her clothing actually made up, or cut and not made, and other things of like nature, returned to her, and be passed through the lines under guard whether she desired to go or not, with charge not to return during the war. Also that if she would designate some one of her relatives in the North to whom she wished the other things which were in her trunks delivered to, that should also be done, although such was not the usual course.

These promises were fulfilled, and she departed the next day. The articles not permitted for her to take were delivered elsewhere according to her directions, and thus ended this singular affair. Some time afterwards, the matter came up casually in conversation with the President, and he remarked that, he "was glad on some accounts that it had occurred, for it gave him an excuse ever after, when urged to grant a similar pass, to quote this case, and truly say that it might be of no avail, for his pass sometimes proved of no account except to be the means of getting himself into trouble, and he preferred to leave such business entirely to the officers who were expected to regulate and govern such matters."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Alvan T. Chapman". The signature is written over two lines, with "Alvan" on the first line and "T. Chapman" on the second line, separated by a small gap.

THE FIRST HOMESTEAD BILL

In 1848 General Taylor was nominated for the Presidency of the United States, much against the wishes of Horace Greeley, whose candidate was Henry Clay. Mr. Greeley knew Clay's position on all the reforms for which he was the advocate through his journal, and thought Mr. Clay would make a great President. For Taylor Mr. Greeley could not speak, and when the "Wilmot Proviso" was laid on the table by the convention which nominated Taylor, to use Mr. Greeley's own words, his "enthusiasm for the Whig cause was laid there also." If this free land question had come up and been advocated, undoubtedly Taylor would have been defeated. Yet the question elected him, and in this way: Cass was the Democratic nominee, and in the convention in which he was nominated the Free Soil Democrats bolted the nomination, withdrew from the convention, and nominated Martin Van Buren as their candidate. The split, with the glamour which is always thrown over a campaign when one of the candidates is a brilliant soldier, combined to elect General Taylor. In New York, however, on the same ticket with Taylor, Horace Greeley was a candidate for the short term in Congress, and with all his "isms" and reforms, which he did not hesitate to preach, he was elected by a large majority.

Entering Congress he was fortunate in being placed on the Committee of Public Lands, where he did the work with which this paper has to deal, for in no history, or even in the excellent history of land legislation published by the government, is it related. But he did not stop with the land question. He undertook many reforms, the mileage question, the franking system, the postal laws, public documents, and a host of others. On the mileage question he discovered he was toying with a whirlwind which touched every member of Congress. This economical spirit provoked many enemies, and he was assailed on all sides. At last he was stung to a reply, which he concluded as follows:

"But the gentleman either distinctly charged or plainly insinuated that I have neglected my duties as a member of this house to attend to my own private business. I meet this charge with a positive and circumstantial denial. Except a brief sitting one private bill day, I have not been absent one hour in all, nor the half of it, from the deliberations of this house. I have never voted for an early adjournment, nor to adjourn over. My name will be recorded on every call of the yeas and nays, and, as the gentleman insin-

uated a neglect of my duties as a member of a committee (Public Lands) I appeal to its chairman for proof to any that need it that I have never been absent from a meeting of that committee nor any part of one; and that I have rather sought than shunned labor upon it. . . . And now, Mr. Chairman, a word on the main question before us, I know very well—I knew from the first—what a low, contemptible, demagoguing business this of attempting to save public money always is. It is not a task for gentlemen—it is esteemed rather disreputable even for editors. Your gentlemanly work is spending—lavishing—distributing—taking. Savings are always such vulgar, beggarly, two-penny affairs—there is a sorry and stingy look about them most repugnant to all gentlemanly instincts. And besides, they never happen to hit the right place—it is always ‘strike higher!’ ‘strike lower!’—to be generous with other people’s money—generous to self and friends especially, that is the way to be popular and commended. Go ahead and never spare for expense! If your debts become inconvenient you can repudiate and blackguard your creditors as descended from Judas Iscariot! Ah, Mr. Chairman, / was not rocked in the cradle of gentility!

On the second day of the session Mr. Greeley introduced his land bill into Congress, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, of which he was a member. The other members of the committee were all good men, and Mr. Greeley, after considerable pleading, secured the approval without an amendment or an erasure, and on the 27th of February, 1849, a few days before the close of the session, Mr. Collamer, the chairman of the committee, reported the bill back to Congress. And now for the proceedings, let us refer to the *Congressional Globe* of that period:

“MR. COLLAMER, from the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the bill to discourage speculation in the public lands, and to secure homes thereon to actual settlers and cultivators, reported the same back to the house without amendment.

MR. GREELEY.—This is the bill which I introduced at an early day, upon notice given on the second day of this session. It is the only bill which has been before the Committee on Public Lands, this winter, proposing to recognize, in any form, the principle that a man is entitled to live *somewhere*, although he has no money wherewith to buy land to live on. This bill asserts this principle in the meekest and least exceptional manner. It respects the pledges solemnly made of the proceeds of our public lands to secure the payment of our Mexican war loans. The fee of every acre of the public lands will remain in the United States, under the provisions of this bill, until it shall have been purchased and paid for by the holder. And while it thus guards the interests of the whole country, it secures a home to every one who will claim it, without money and without price. Such are the general characteristics of this bill. Its material provisions are as follows:

1. Every citizen or applicant for citizenship is authorized by this bill to claim and settle upon and quarter section of the public lands, subject to private entry at the minimum price, receiving a certificate of right of pre-emption thereon for seven years thereafter.

2. At any time during those seven years, upon giving due proof that he has improved, cultivated, built a dwelling upon, and now actually inhabits that quarter section, and is the owner or claimant of no other land whatsoever, he or she shall be entitled, if a single person, to a right of unlimited occupancy to forty acres of said tract, or if the married head of

a family to a like right of occupancy to any legal subdivision of eighty acres thereof, to be his without payment, and to pass to his heirs or assigns, who are owners or claimants of not more than 160 acres of land, this included.

3. The balance of the 160 acres covered by pre-emption as aforesaid may be purchased by the legal occupant at any time within the seven years' existence of the pre-emption at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre, with legal interest thereon from the date of pre-emption. If not so purchased, it will be open to pre-emption or purchase by any other person, as aforesaid.

4. Any person may purchase, at the present legal minimum, any quantity of the public lands, making affidavit that he requires the same, and the whole of it, for his own use and improvement; but any person failing or neglecting to make and file such affidavit, shall be charged and pay, for whatever land he may buy, the minimum price of \$5 per acre.

I shall not tax the time of the house with any argument in its favor, for which there is now no time. I simply ask the yeas and nays on the rejection of the bill.

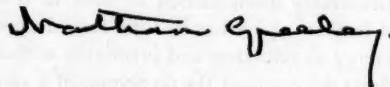
MR. GOGGIN interposed a motion that the bill be laid on the table.

MR. GREELEY.—I ask the yeas and nays on that motion.

Only about twenty members rising to second the call for the yeas and nays, they were not ordered, and the bill, by a *viva voce* vote, was laid on the table."

And thus closed the three months' term of Horace Greeley in Congress. His action on other questions no doubt in a measure caused the house to "sit down" on him so severely, but after all it was the same fear which before and since has characterized our national legislature on other great questions. Here was the first bill entered on the calendar of the house which advocated anything like the Homestead bill of 1862. True, there had been pre-emption bills without number, but Mr. Greeley's was the first bill which recognized that the land belonged to the people and should be free. Returning to New York, he issued his address to the electors of his district, in the course of which, alluding to his land bill, he said:

"The House found no time to act on this bill, and refused me even the yeas and nays on rejecting it. Had I been more tender to certain foibles, this would probably have been otherwise. I do not complain as of a personal grievance; for I can better await a more just appreciation of this subject than can those who need land, and must annually sacrifice half their scanty earnings for the want of it."



MINOR TOPICS

DISILLUSIONS

FOOD FOR EARNEST THOUGHT AND FRUITFUL STUDY

Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, in one of his recent powerful sermons, said, "The only liberty a man has is the liberty of deciding to whom he will surrender his liberty. Every person obeys something. It is not a question whether we will serve, but 'choose ye this day whom ye will serve.' Ninety-nine per cent. of life is pure governance, a matter of being carried, driven, swayed, swept in and out with the tide, up and down with the wave. Everything is obedient. The sun and the sand go when and where they are drawn and blown. The stars and planets have their orbits laid down for them, and gravity is the name given to the invisible cords by which they are remorselessly dragged through their orbits; and the music of the spheres is a poetic way of phrasing what a mechanic would be likely to call, in his more prosaic and quite as accurate way, the clatter of the celestial machinery. Much of our enjoyment of nature comes from imaginatively endowing nature with qualities of liberty which nature does not possess. The gentlest breath that stirs mysteriously in the noontide heat among the summer pines, and which we love to think of as a sigh issuing from the forest in its weary solitude, comes all of it, as stern mechanical response to the pressure mechanically put upon it. Very much of the charm of nature owes itself to the genius we have of seeing in nature what is not there; and what we know as the freedom and the play of nature is only nature at hard work, but work done with such a show of ease and grace as to disguise from us the steel threads of remorseless necessity upon which its seeming playfulness is strung. A part of the pleasure afforded us by a waterfall with its plunge from the rocks, crumbling into drops and scattering forth into spray, and blossoming out along its margin into petals of red, violet, and gold, is due to fibers of imagined liberty and sportiveness that our thought weaves into the tissues of the waterfall's downy grace and dropping splendor; and we are measurably disenchanted so soon as it occurs to us that each drop and each bit of feathery spray has its form forced upon it, and its cadent orbit prescribed by an energy as relentless and invariable as that which determines the path of the moon about the earth, or the revolution of a spinning-wheel or a grindstone upon its axis. The revolving planet, the falling drop, the flying bird exist in a world that is already furnished with all the forces that are required, and the appropriate mission of each is fulfilled, not by its trying to extemporize and become a new power of its own, but by standing in the midst of the energies that are already at work, and surrendering itself in implicit obedience to the particular energy that is fitted to

further it in the direction of its appropriate destiny. And this furnishes us a clew to what we might expect to find, and what we certainly shall find, as we emerge upon the higher and broader ground of man's intelligent existence. It is not a man's proper ambition to make of himself a great power in the world, but to get himself in the range of the forces that already exist, and let them propel him to the quarter toward which his own destiny properly verges. Whether we go up or go down, we are going to be carried to our destiny. Whatever becomes of us, and whatever we accomplish, will be effected by means of our having committed ourselves to some current or other, some wind or other, and then letting that tide or breeze have its own way with us. There are currents everywhere—in the sea and in the air, on the ground and among men. Life is full of drift as the sky of breezes and sunbeams, and the celestial spaces of gravitation. Every one gets touched by them, pulled and pushed and twisted by them ; and whatever pull he obeys will seize him in the direction of its own goal. Roads are all built, trains are at the stations, tides setting deep and strong towards the sea. Men do not have to save themselves, any more than they have to damn themselves. We have only to choose our conveyance, and then abide by it ; we have only to select the mastery that we will obey, and then obey it, and where the boat goes we shall be landed ; whither the wind blows we shall be wafted. We go to the Forty-second Street depot, and find two trains side by side on adjacent tracks ; both of them are through trains, one for Albany, the other for New Haven. We can take which we like, but having made our choice, and having committed ourselves to the one or the other, not we but the train will take us to our destination. That represents the way in which all the great results wrought in the world are being accomplished. On all the lower plains of achievement the key to success is the art of finding the wind that blows in the direction you wish to go. All the mechanical contrivances have never produced one atom of new energy. Inventive genius is a tact for discovering nature's own energies, finding out which way her energies are going, and letting her carry our burdens as she goes. It is belt-ing our machinery to forces that have been latent in fire and water for a million years, waiting to go to work, waiting to respond to the prayer of man's necessity and man's intelligence. The energies, the great product-yielding factors, physical and intellectual, moral and spiritual, are all in stock ; to one energy or another every man is tied by cords of personal gravitation, steel links of obedience ; and those energies—not his own energies—are what makes him an agent of ruin or of succor, pulling him down or lifting him up. He is treading to the beat of their music ; he is bending to the pull of their tension ; he is bowing to the thrall of their mastership. This modifies a little our natural idea of power, human power. Men's sense of personal freedom and individual sovereignty far outruns the facts of the case. There is in men undoubtedly an element of self-determination. You certainly determine for yourself what train you will take ; and yet it is not you that take the train, but the train that takes you. Our liberty is less the lib-

erty of deciding what we will do, than it is the liberty of deciding what we will let be done in us, and for us, and through us. We scarcely realize how small is our province of creative energy. We talk of self-education. No man can add one cubit to his stature, nor can he add one inch to his mind. Truth will educate us ; the personality of other people will educate us ; but *self*-education would be in the realm of the intellectual what lifting ourselves into the air would be in the sphere of the physical. There is what we may call the enginery of education ; we can couple ourselves to the enginery, and be dragged to our educational destination, and that is the only way we shall get there. The forces are here ; the currents are running ; the tide is setting ; the trains are on the track ; the winds are blowing. You cannot make much of a wind, but you can choose a wind, and you can trim your sails to it, and by its push and inspiration can attain the haven which you select. And one wind or another is filling your sails. Deliberately or otherwise you are committed to some energy that is pulling you. It may be down, or it may be up. There is no man living who is not tethered to something that is drawing him its way. Nothing in the universe that stands in entire dissociation. You have no liberty. You can choose your master, but you cannot choose to have no master. Allegiance of some sort is ingrained, and tendency toward some gravitating center as inherent in man as in a water-drop or a star."

HOMESTEAD OF DAVID WILLIAMS

ONE OF THE CAPTORS OF MAJOR ANDRE

South from the village of Schoharie, through a beautiful valley, some five miles to Middleburg, thence eight miles to Livingstonville, two miles east, and up a picturesque ravine to the foot of a mountain, with an almost perpendicular ascent of one mile to the summit, we reach the land of the Williams family. First is the residence of William C. Williams, eldest grandson of the captor ; about a quarter of a mile beyond is the homestead, where the captor passed the most of his life subsequent to the Revolution, and where he died. His only child, a son, was born, lived and died there, and it was the birth-place of his seven grandchildren. It is now the property of his youngest granddaughter, a married lady of about forty, who lives here with her husband, two children and mother, the latter being the widow of David, the only child of the captor, an intelligent and estimable woman, in her eighty-sixth year, who relates with accuracy and interest the historic events connected with her husband's father. The first settler here was Daniel Shays, leader of the great "Shays's rebellion" of 1786, in Massachusetts, who, being defeated, fled to this retired spot. He sold the property to Mr. Boughton, who held the farm of 109 acres some two years, and sold it to David Williams, the captor. This aged daughter-in-law says he, Mr. Williams, was always very generous, and indorsed for any person who asked him, until the place became mortgaged

for all it was worth. But he received a pension of two hundred dollars a year from the government, and managed to retain the property. She says that David Williams's feet were badly frozen while serving in the Revolutionary Army, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered, and which disabled him to a considerable extent from physical labor. But his son, on arriving at manhood, by industry and energy, paid off all indebtedness, and erected the residence now standing, and added 170 acres to the farm. This land is now owned by the eldest grandson, William C. Williams, who was the first man to raise hops in this part of the country. This gentleman, William C. Williams, has the silver medal that was given to the captor by George Washington, in accordance with the vote of Congress; likewise the cane presented to him in New York city, made from the cheval-de-frise used in obstructing the navigation of the Hudson at West Point during the Revolution. In December, 1830, David Williams was in New York, by invitation of the Mayor of the city, who presented him at that time with a fine horse, harness, and carriage. The pupils of a school in the city also presented him with a silver cup. This, by his instructions, was to be given to his first great-grandson who should bear the name of David, and thus it has gone to the son of Myron Williams, in Iowa. The description of the proceedings on the occasion of the presentation of the cup, from the *New York Evening Post*, of December, 1830, will be found most interesting: "TRIBUTE OF RESPECT. On Friday last, Mr. David Williams, the surviving captor of Major Andre, visited the school of Messrs. Flint and Kidder, in the Ninth Ward, by desire of the pupils, and was so highly gratified with his reception as to solicit particularly that the whole of the ceremonies be published. He was first introduced into the male department, and having related the story of the capture of the unfortunate Andre, which was listened to with the most profound interest, he concluded with some pertinent remarks, calculated to make and perpetuate patriotic impressions on the minds and feelings of the children.

Master Bayard, on behalf of his associates, then addressed Mr. Williams in the following terms: 'Sir—It is with feelings of no common diffidence that I undertake the agreeable and honorable task allotted me, to bid you welcome to this school. I see before me the venerable form of a man belonging to another age, a relic of the most remarkable era in history—a compatriot of the most distinguished men, whose labours in the cause of independence have filled the measure of the nation's glory. I see one of three, who, at a most critical period of our arduous struggle for liberty, preferred the integrity of patriotism before the shining bribe of treachery.'

Your name, sir, is associated with one of the most signal interpositions of Divine Providence which has marked the course of our Revolutionary strife, and it shall be handed down to future generations inscribed on the same banner which exhibits the names of those venerable men whose fame and whose virtues are the pride and the property of the nation.

Sir, I thank you, in the name of my associates, for the honor you confer on us

by this visit. Long may you enjoy every blessing which this world can afford and when you descend into the vale of death, may you be supported by the same Almighty arm which brought deliverance to your country, and may you enter into that rest which remains for all the people of God !'

Mr. Williams also visited the female department, and repeated the story of his patriotism, concluding with a few parental observations, which were heard with the most eager and respectful attention. Miss Ritchie, on behalf of her associates, then addressed him as follows : 'Sir ; With feelings of joy and reverence, I rise, in behalf of my teachers and my companions here, to thank you for this visit. We have read of your exploit—your name and the name of your companions, Paulding and Van Wart, are familiar to our ears. We have always been taught, and so shall all the children of this wide republic be ever taught, to venerate the incorruptible integrity of your characters, and to cherish with admiration and gratitude the recollection of your illustrious deed. But, sir, to hear the story of the capture of Major Andre from one of the captors himself, and to make our personal acknowledgments to him for the benefits we derive from this eminent service, is an occurrence altogether unexpected by us, and has afforded a pleasure which words are too poor to express. Our hearts are full of thanks—accept the offering and along with it accept our blessing and our prayer, that Almighty God, whose divine providence inspires you with that exalted patriotism, may crown you with happiness equal to the importance of the deed which adorns your life, and present the brightest page of our country's history.'

By both addresses, as well as by the whole scene, which was truly touching, the old gentleman was much affected; and in both departments, while tears rolled down his aged cheeks, he took each scholar affectionately by the hand, repeatedly declaring, 'this is the happiest day of my life.' After the ceremonies, at the school, no room in the academy being large enough to hold all the scholars, they formed a procession to the number of about sixty young ladies and eighty young gentlemen, and escorted him to the Long-room, Military Hall, where ample accommodations were afforded for the succeeding ceremonies, which were the repetition of his story for the gratification of the relatives and friends of the pupils present, and the presentation to Mr. Williams of A SILVER CUP, which was done by Master Miles, with the following address : 'Sir ; You have kindly condescended to recount to us the circumstances of that noble act, for which the world admires, and your country honours you : and we have feebly, in words, expressed the grateful emotions of our hearts on this interesting occasion. But we are anxious to manifest our deep sense of the importance of your incorruptible patriotism, and our respect for your personal worth by some visible token. I have, therefore, the honour, in the name and in behalf of my fellow-pupils, to present you this CUP, which we beg you to accept—itself a trifle—yet we hope the occasion will confer on it a value ; for while you are honoured by men of your own generation, this assures you that you have, also, the gratitude of posterity.'

The cup is of beautiful workmanship, bearing, within a circle in front, the inscription : 'Presented to David Williams, by the pupils of Flint and Kidder's School, at New-York; December, 1830.' On the exterior of the circle, were the words 'Gratitude of Posterity.' Upon receiving it Mr. Williams was so much affected, as to be for some time unable to speak. He at length said, 'My dear children, your kindness has overcome me. I thank you. Your present if I could I would always wear upon my heart; but I cant—it's too big.' But clasping it to his breast, he added, 'I will wear your gratitude here as long as I live.'

The order, discipline, and manner in which the whole scene was conducted, reflects great credit upon the teachers as well as pupils. A. SPECTATOR."

The homestead is but a short distance from the Catskill Mountains, facing the south, and commanding one of the grandest views of that range with its numerous peaks towering into the blue ethereal regions of space. Here the patriot died on the 2d of August, 1831, aged seventy-six years. A monument has been erected to his memory, by the State of New York, at the stone fort at Schoharie Court House. It occupies a conspicuous position by the roadway, near the Old Stone Fort, which is one of the best preserved of the Revolutionary forts in the State.

D. KNOWER

SCHOHARIE, NEW YORK.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Private Intelligence of the Revolution.

From the Collection of the Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

[The Rev. Dirck Romeyn, D.D., to whom this letter was addressed, was known in the Reformed Dutch Church as "a prince and a leader, an exemplar of Christianity." He is also known as "the old prophet" whose influence led to the foundation of Union College in this State. Born an English subject, by descent a Dutchman, he was an ardent American. So pronounced was his patriotism that his life was endangered, and he was obliged to solicit "militia aids" from Governor Livingston, and as the danger increased additional "aids" were given him. From the numerous letters in possession of his descendants it would seem that he furnished private intelligence of great moment to Clinton and other prominent officers during the Revolution. He died in 1804.]

Colonel Tench Tilghman to Rev. Dirck Romeyn, D.D.

Head Quarters

Col. Days 3^d Novem^r 1780

Sir

His Excellency General Washington has been informed within two days past, that another embarkation under the command of Sir Henry Clinton is preparing at New York. Should this be so, it is more than probable that you will have heard something of it, as the communication between Hackensack and Bergen is frequent.—You will be good enough to let me know, by the return of the bearer whether any thing of the kind has come to your knowledge, with any particulars which you may have collected. Should you at any time in future gain any intelligence which you may think material you will oblige His Excellency and render essential public service by communicating it to him.

I am with great Respect

Your most ob^r serv^t

Tench Tilghman

Aide de Camp.

[To be Continued.]

NOTES

IMITATION—The eminent author, Professor Alexander Melville Bell, in his recently issued work on *Elocution*, says many things in which every one is more or less interested. From his instructive essay on *Imitation*, we quote the following: “Imitation gives rise to specific rules; reason evolves guiding principles. Imitation is most widely operative where intelligence is lowest; and rules—the development of imitation—are necessarily most, where reason is least exerted. Great men are original; ordinary men are imitative. The man of genius is, of all others, the least amenable to ordinary laws and customs; the man of lowest intellect is, of all others, the greatest slave of usage and prescription. Thus greatness is reflected and multiplied, and a nation is elevated by an individual. In this way, too, the common standard of humanity is raised, and the greatness of one age becomes the mediocrity of the next. The generality of men tread in the beaten ways of their fathers; but genius—erratic and adventurous—strikes out new tracks, and leaves behind it ‘footprints on the sands of time,’ which the after ages follow.

The principle of imitation plays an important part in education. Children, being naturally apt to imitate, assume the manner with the speech of their parents or nurses; and schoolboys learn as much indirectly by imitation as they do by direct instruction. Hence it is important that the models set before children, in the nursery and at school, should be such as may profitably be imitated, since copied they will be. The fact of this

tendency to imitate, we must accept as an inevitable necessity, but we should endeavor to counteract its evils by the constant application of a higher principle in teaching—by training the reasoning powers at every step, and by discouraging, as much as possible, the inherent tendency to imitate.”

WILLIAM BLOUNT—Among the members of the old Continental Congress, in 1783 and 1784, and again in 1786 and 1787, was William Blount, one of the pioneer patriots of the territory south of the Ohio River, an independent, adventurous, self-reliant soldier and citizen, who lived in an age when conspicuous merit alone secured commanding influence. In his *Life*, written by General Marcus J. Wright, we find the following: “Mr. Blount was of an ancient English family of wealth and rank, which, at an early day, emigrated to North Carolina. The name is often mentioned in the annals of that State during the Revolution. Mr. Blount was remarkable for his address, courtly manners, benignant feelings, and most commanding presence. His urbanity, his personal influence over men of all conditions and ages, his hospitality unostentatiously but yet elegantly and gracefully extended to all, won upon the affections and regard of the populace, and made him a universal favorite. He was at once the social companion, the well-bred gentleman, and the capable officer.” On the 7th of August, 1790, he was commissioned by President Washington as governor of “the territory south of the Ohio river.”

A GENEALOGICAL WORK will soon be privately printed by General Charles W. Darling, in handsome form, with portraits, arms, and charts, containing much information never before made public relative to the families of Hackladden, Haynes, Pierpont, Noyes, Darling, Chauncey, Davis, Ely, Dana, and Robertson. All these families, except the last-named, were from New England. A sketch of Archibald Robertson, of Scotland, who painted the likenesses of George and Martha Washington, while spending several weeks as a guest in the

family of the same, will be given a place in the book, also accurate copies of the original miniatures on ivory, painted by him from life. With the exception of a single copy, granted some years ago to the New York Historical Society, no copy of these miniatures has ever been made. These originals possess unusual historic interest, and, as many may know, they are in the possession of the granddaughters of Mr. Robertson : Mrs. Charles W. Darling, of Utica, New York, and Mrs. S. M. Mygatt, of Paris, France.

QUERIES

VANDERVOORT—Can any reader of the *Magazine of American History* give information as to the parentage and paternal ancestry of Hon. Peter Vandervoort, born 29th March, 1751?

His wife was Ann Kouvenhoven, whom he married 3d September, 1771. A daughter, Margaret Vandervoort, married Hon. Elisha W. King, of New York city.

In the Surrogate's Office, in New York, in Liber XL., p. 105, is recorded the will of a Peter Vandervoort, who bequeathed a Bible, containing the family genealogy, to his son, William Ledyard Vandervoort. Was this the husband of Ann Kouvenhoven? PEDIGREE

MEMBERS OF THE OLD CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—Where can a complete list be obtained of the members of the American Congress prior to the establishment of the present form of government, under the Constitution, in the United States of America?

BRITISH MUSEUM

KEY-STONE STATE—When was this sobriquet first given to Pennsylvania, and what was the occasion of the name?

J. D. BUTLER
MADISON, WISCONSIN.

REPLIES

FLORIDA [xvi. 499, xvii. 86]—There is disagreement among the authorities not only with regard to the Holy-day on which Juan Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, but also with regard to the day of the month, and even the year.

First; with regard to the year. Most of the modern authorities refer the discovery to the year 1512. But this is a mistake. The year was 1513. This error is found in the *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed.; *Appleton's Cycl.*, article FLORIDA (under the title

PONCE DE LEON, the date is correctly given); *Haydn's Dict. of Dates*; *Woodward and Cate's Encycl. of Chronol.*; *Lippincott's Biograph. Dict.*; *Johnson's Cyclop.*; *Drake's Dict. of Amer. Biog.*; *Nouvelle Biog. Generale*; *Washington Irving's Life of Columbus*; *Theodore Irving's Conquest of Florida*; *Hildreth's Hist. of the U. S.*; *Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*; and in numerous works of minor importance.

The old Spanish chroniclers, Gomara and Herrera, agree in saying that Juan Ponce de Leon sailed from Porto Rico, in search of the Fountain of Youth, on the 3d of March, 1512, and reached the coast of Florida on the 27th of the same month. According to the more common mode of reckoning the beginning of the year in those times, the new year (1513) did not begin until Annunciation Day, March 25, so that this eventful 3d of March, on which Juan Ponce set sail, fell in the year 1512. According to our present method of reckoning, the year 1513 began on the first of January preceding, and this 3d of March belonged to the year 1513. But both by the ancient and by our modern rule of reckoning, the 27th of March fell in the year 1513.

Secondly; with regard to the Holy-day. The authorities agree in saying that Florida was discovered on the Holy-day called in Spanish, *Pascua Florida* (Passover of Flowers); but some assert that this was Easter; others, that it was Palm Sunday (the Sunday before Easter). The discrepancy seems to spring from the fact that the name *Pascua Florida* was applied anciently by the Spaniards both to Palm Sunday

(*Domingo de Ramos*) and to Easter (*Pascua de Resurrecion*). Thus John Minshen, in his *Guide into Tongues*, 1617, gives *Pascua Florida* as a Spanish equivalent for Palm Sunday, "quia circa id tempus flores emittuntur et e terra et arboribus," and also for Easter, "a florido et vernanti anni tempore, incidit enim Pascha in tempus anni vernum." An easy calculation shows that for the year 1513, the Golden Number was 13, and the Dominical Letter in old style was B. Paschal full moon fell in that year on March 24, O. S., and Sunday the 27th was Easter, and not Palm Sunday.

The mistake of calling the day Palm Sunday was made in old times by Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, 1625) and by Hakluyt (Transl. of *Landonnierre's Florida*, 1586). The error has been propagated in modern times by Robertson, Irving, Hildreth and other writers of less fame. The correct date of the discovery is given by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in his *Historia de la Florida*, lib. i., cap. i.: "La Florida llamada assi por averse descubierto la costa dia de Pascua Florida;" and Lib. i., cap. ii. [Juan Ponce de Leon]: "diò en la Costa al Septentrio de la Isla de Cuba; la qual Costa, por ser Dia de Pascua de Resurrecion quando la viò, la llamò Florida; y fue el año de mil y quiniente y trece, que segun los computistas se celebro aquel año à los veinte y siete de Março."

Peter Martyr, in his *De Rebus Oceanicis*, Dec. iv., Lok's transl., says: "Joannes Pontius called it Florida, because he founde that iland on the day of the resurrection; the Spaniard

calleth Easter the flourishing day of the resurrection." According to Herrera, *General Hist. of America*, Dec. i., Bk. ix., ch. 5, Stevens' transl.: "On Sunday the twenty-seventh, being Easter Day, in Spanish call'd *Pasqua de Flores*, they saw an Island. . . . Believing that Land to be an Island, they nam'd it Florida, because it appear'd very delightful, having many pleasant Groves, and it was all level; as also, because they discover'd it at *Easter*, which, as has been said, the Spaniards call *Pasqua de Flores* or *Florida*."

Mr. George Bancroft has given an accurate and succinct statement of all the facts. I quote from the Centenary edition of his *History of the United States*, Vol. i., pp. 23, 24: "On the 3d of March, 1513, according to our present rule for beginning the year, Ponce embarked at Porto Rico with a squadron of three ships, for his voyage to the fabled land. On Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call *Pascua Florida*, and which in that year fell on the twenty-seventh of March, land was seen. It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of *Florida*, from the day on which it was discovered, and from the aspect of the forests, which were then brilliant with the bloom of spring."

W. S. WYMAN

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, TUSCALOOSA, Ala.

SINTVYCK [xvi. 593] was the grist-mill located near where the Battle of Bennington, so called, was fought in the

State of New York. In Burgoyne's Orderly Book (*Munsell's ed.*, p. 82, 83), referring to the same mill, it is called "Sainturich Mill." In the New York Revolutionary Papers (ii., 364, 365), it is written *St. Kaich*, and noticed as the place where certain rioters from the Hampshire Grants were assembled. In Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book (p. 120, 121), the same location is described as "*St. Crick's Mills*." This mill was owned by one Van Schaick, and stood at or near the junction of the Walloomsach River with a smaller stream known as Little White Creek. *Burgoyne's Orderly Book*, *Munsell's ed.*, p. 83, note. The place where this mill was constructed was called by the Indians *Sahan-Kaim-Spick*. See *Book G, Albany County Clerk's Office*, p. 229. From this, by abbreviation, could easily come *San Coich*, or it may have arisen from the name of the mill owner, *Van Schaick*.

JAMES GIBSON

SALEM, NEW YORK.

ANDRUSTOWN [xvi. 594] was a settlement in the present town of Warren, in Herkimer County, New York, and was attacked by Brant and a band of Indians, and destroyed in July, 1778.

JAMES GIBSON

SALEM, NEW YORK.

A CRITICAL INQUIRY ABOUT SIR WALTER RALEIGH [xvii. 77-79]—On page 79 for fact read "proof."

ROANOKE

SOCIETIES

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its monthly meeting for December, at its rooms, on the evening of December 13. An interesting communication was read from Winslow Jones, of the British Museum, with reference to the "Calvert Papers." These supposed papers have been for several years a subject of great curiosity and interest with the Maryland Society, and many and almost constant have been the inquiries which have been made with reference to them. The late J. H. Alexander, Esq., left on record that he saw, nearly fifty years ago, in one of the rooms of the British Museum, two large chests, labeled "Calvert Papers." The high authority of Mr. Alexander in all such matters has always been regarded by the members of the society as establishing, beyond a possible doubt, the fact that such documents exist, and that they might be of great value for settling many controverted questions in the early history of Maryland. Mr. Jones states in his letter, that he has no knowledge of any such papers or chests among the archives of the museum, and does not remember that he has ever seen such during the nearly forty years that he has been connected with that institution.

An interesting letter was also read from Minister Edward J. Phelps, who represented the society at the recent celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of Domesday; with also a letter from Lord Adair of the Royal Historical Society, President of the celebration.

The historic paper of the evening was

VOL. XVII.—No. 2.—12

read by Edward F. Leyh, Esq., upon "The Mace," as an emblem of authority. The paper was prefaced by an amusing description of a scene witnessed by the writer in the House of Representatives at Washington, a collision between a "black Republican" and a "Copperhead," in which the sergeant-at-arms was struck by one of the combatants, but as he had not the mace in his hand at the time, the offense was held a mere personal assault, and not a contempt of the authority and dignity of the House. This led the writer to a careful investigation of the origin and meaning of the mace, which stands as the badge of authority in every legislative body in our country; and his investigation led him to the conclusion that it was not of Romance origin, but the oldest badge of authority, older than the sceptre of the king or the baton of the field-marshal, the emblem of the law-making and executive power of the Germanic world, where, however, it has been displaced by the sceptre, but remains with us the highest sign of the dignity of the law-making power.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A regular meeting of the society was held at its rooms in the Library Building at Utica, on January 28, Vice-President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair.

A. A. Graham, of Columbus, Ohio, and E. L. Dana, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., were chosen corresponding members; and Hon. William Townsend and Ward Hunt were elected to resident membership. Vice-President Roberts then

spoke as follows : "The Oneida Historical Society has in no way done more to keep alive and preserve our local history, than by the monuments which it has helped to erect. The beginnings of our city are defined and perpetuated by the memorial of old Fort Schuyler. The settlement of the county is forever traced back to its pioneer by the monument to Hugh White, in the town which bears his name. The towering column at Oriskany, teaches for all time the strategic and commercial relations of the valley of the Mohawk to the continent, while it gives immortality to the yeomen who withstood the armed hosts of invasion. For these, this society may claim its share of credit. The monument to Baron Steuben, due in large part to the thoughtfulness of our German fellow-citizens, had the favor of our distinguished president, whose eloquence crowned its dedication. He also contributed to the memorial to that earlier soldier—the soldier of the cross—Samuel Kirkland, missionary, by whose grave the hillside above Oriskany Creek is made consecrated ground. The work already done by this society, opens the way for other like tasks, and I suggest that the committee on monuments of this society be directed to report what action should be taken to mark the graves of the heroes of the revolutionary period, in Forest Hill Cemetery, and elsewhere in this county."

Mr. Seymour then read a paper on the late librarian of the society, Judge M. M. Jones, and paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the deceased. Mr. Alexander Seward followed with appropriate remarks, and moved that

the thanks of the society be returned to Mr. Seymour for his paper. The chair announced that in January, Professor Burdick, of Hamilton College, would deliver the annual address before the society. Subject, "Is local history worth studying ? "

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its May meeting in Newark, adopted resolutions warmly approving the proposed celebration in New York, in 1789, of the centennial of the inauguration of our present national system of government, and appointed as a committee to co-operate to that end, the Hon. Nathaniel Niles, Adjutant-General William S. Stryker, ex-Governor Joel Parker, ex-Mayor Garret D. W. Vroom and William Nelson. Rev. Allen H. Brown read a paper on *Dr. Jonathan Pitney, and Fifty Years of Progress in West Jersey*, Dr. Pitney being credited with having been largely instrumental in securing the erection of light-houses along the southern shores of New Jersey, and for bringing into existence the railroads connecting the Delaware shore with the coast. Dr. Henry Race read a paper on the oft-told but always interesting story of Jennie McCrea and her tragic fate at Fort Edward, New York, in July, 1777 ; the McCreas were from Somerset County, New Jersey. The Hon. John F. Hageman, of Princeton, read a paper on *The Life, Services, and Character of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Senator and Secretary of State*. Mr. Hageman was a classmate of Mr. Frelinghuysen, and his paper was a worthy tribute to the eminent statesman. The society met at Schooley's Mountain, Morris County,

September 2, where a paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Burtis C. Megie, on the history of that watering-place, once the most famous in the country, and still boasting of being the oldest—its first hotel (still standing) dating back to 1795; and the Rev. Dr. Alfred Hiller also read a paper on the Lutheran Church in New Jersey—Swedish, Dutch, German and English, covering a period of more than two hundred and sixty years. German Valley, lying within three miles of Schooley's Mountain, was settled by a colony of Lutherans early in the last century. An invitation was read from the Royal Historical Society of England asking for co-operation in the celebration of the approaching anniversary of the completion of the Domesday Survey, five hundred years ago. Mr. William Nelson gave a description of the two stout vellum volumes which he had been permitted to handle four years since in the Public Record Office in London, which contain these surveys, the basis of all land-titles in England to this day. The volumes are kept in plate-glass cases, under lock and key, in the innermost office of the Keeper of the Rolls. It was announced that the Executive Committee had appointed Messrs. Wm. Nelson, General Stryker, G. D. W. Vroom and A. V. D. Honeyman to represent the society at the Centennial celebration at Annapolis of the Convention of 1786, which led the way to the forming of our present Constitution. The members were greatly pleased with the meeting, and voted that it would be good to hold a summer session every year at some of New Jersey's many watering-places.

THE GALVESTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This society was organized in 1871, adopting the constitution and by-laws of the New York Historical Society, and its first president was Dr. S. M. Welch. The late Colonel A. M. Hobby was his successor. A reorganization of the institution was effected not very long since by the election of Philip C. Tucker as president, and Mr. Andrew Benner as secretary. The collection has already grown very valuable. It embraces the private diaries and papers of Lorenzo de Zavalla, first Vice-President of the Republic of Texas, and the dress sword which he wore when presented at the court of Louis Philippe; also a voluminous correspondence between Zavalla and Santa Anna and Jose Antonio Mexia, touching upon Texas and Mexican affairs during those early days when the fortunes of the two republics were one and the same. The archives also contain personal narratives of James A. Sylvester, of the capture of Santa Anna, after the battle of San Jacinto; official and private letters of Colonel James Morgan, commanding at Galveston in 1836; narratives of the Mier Expedition, as written by a member; military order-book and papers of General Magruder; register for 1864 of the male and female inhabitants of Galveston, with name, age, nativity and occupation of every resident in the city of Galveston at that time; also, a variety of autograph letters, biographical notices, public addresses, books, pamphlets, newspapers, etc., together with about thirty different histories of Texas.

BOOK NOTICES

BIBLIOTHECA HAMILTONIANA. A list of books written by, or relating to Alexander Hamilton. Compiled by PAUL LEICESTER FORD. 8vo, pp. 159. Pamphlet. From the Knickerbocker Press of G. P. Putnam's Sons : New York. 1886.

The signal ability with which this little work has been produced renders it a valuable acquisition to any library, whether public or private. It is just what its title indicates—and that covers a broad field—with pertinent annotations concerning the rarity of some of the works mentioned, the origin and history of others, and where they may at present be found. The list embraces more than three hundred titles—those of the various editions of all the publications relating to Hamilton, including his own writings of every class, his joint writings with others—as the "Federalist," and "Letters of Camillus"—and the memoirs, sketches, sermons, and orations of which he was the subject. The arrangement of the list is clear, certain letters of the alphabet being used to guide the student to libraries where specified books or pamphlets may be found. To those who are looking into the beginnings of our government, this book will be a perfect directory, as the pamphlets on the Constitution, and such as relate to Hamilton's financial policy, are absolutely necessary to the formation of an intelligent opinion ; and it is not one hardly in a thousand of the present generation who knows where to find them. We have examined every page of this unique work, and take pleasure in cordially recommending it as a model of its kind.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE HONORABLE MAJOR JOHN HABERSHAM, of Georgia. By CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL.D. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 30. Privately printed. 1886.

The subject of this monograph arrived in Savannah, in 1738, in company with Rev. George Whitfield, and was henceforward, for more than half century, prominently identified with important public affairs. He was the founder of the earliest mercantile house in Savannah, the efficient secretary of the colony, a commissioner of silk culture, an assistant to the President of the Province upon the surrender by the trustees of its management and prior to the erection of the royal government, and Governor *pro tempore* of Georgia during the absence of Sir James Wright. In 1785 and 1786 he was a member from Georgia of the Continental Congress, then in session in New York city. He

was active in educational matters and in charities, one of the founders of the University of Georgia, and the organizer of the earliest Sunday schools in that State. Colonel Jones, the author of this charming biographical chapter, says of Major Habersham: "The purity of his character, the nobility of his aims and impulses, the utility of his acts, and the influence of his virtuous life were at the time, and have ever since been, recognized and admired." We are always glad to welcome any work that adds to our information concerning the members of the old Continental Congress, and for that excellent reason, as well as many others, this sketch deserves a permanent place in the biographical literature of America.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE for beginners and students, with complete Indexes and numerous Illustrations. By CLARA ERSKINE CLEMENT. 8vo, pp. 206. New York : White, Stokes & Allen. 1886.

Architecture is a theme of which we cannot know too much, and of which it is almost unpardonable in this enlightened age to know too little. It grows upon the mind and heart with knowledge, and is never tiresome to the intelligent pupil. Mrs. Clement is one of the few living authors who is quite competent to handle a subject of such breadth and importance in a short space. She has chosen the most noteworthy features of both ancient and modern architecture, and with graphic description and illustrative pictures marshaled them into an orderly procession. She begins with the earliest period, when tribes or nations dwelt remote from each other, and when the wooden hut was the genuine offspring of demand for shelter. Architecture, from its birth, was stamped with the character of the country or race from which it sprung. Religion or idolatry inspired its development. With the Pagan devotee, art was made to conform to the supposed moral attributes of the deity, in whose honor monuments and temples were erected. The obelisks of ancient Egypt were built by the kings to express their reverence for the gods.

Mrs. Clement leads her readers pleasantly along from one country to another ; shows them the wonders of Nineveh ; introduces them to Babylon, the largest and the finest of all the ancient cities, with its walls pierced by a hundred gates and surmounted by two hundred and fifty towers, its "hanging gardens," its river Euphrates, and its famous temple, where every brick bears the name of Nebuchadnezzar ; takes them to Persia among the palaces and tombs ; tarryes with them in Greece and in Rome

until everything most desirable to know has been learned; and then moves rapidly forward through the centuries which are teeming with examples of Christian, Gothic, Byzantine and Saracenic architecture. The third chapter of the book is devoted to modern architecture, from 1400 to the present time. It is less interesting than the chapters preceding; but at the same time it contains a vast amount of exact and helpful information. The publishers have issued the work in admirable style, and it is altogether worthy of the highest praise.

REMINISCENCES AND OPINIONS, 1813-

1885. By SIR FRANCIS HASTINGS DOYLE.
8vo, pp. 420. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

The personal reminiscences of a genial man of wide culture and with the story-telling gift, cannot fail to be entertaining in book form—more entertaining, often, than are the same reminiscences by word of mouth. The printed page can be read at will, once or perhaps twice ; but we all of us know that a garrulous old man, whose life has been an eventful one, and who has done a good deal of talking in his time, is very apt to become wearisome. The reminiscences of Sir Francis, in their published form at least, are in no danger of prolixity. His life covers the major part of the most extraordinary century of the world's history, that is to say the last, which must always be the most extraordinary—born in 1810, or, as he characteristically puts it, in "Whalebone's Derby year." Fancy a retired Oxonian professor fixing the date of his birth by the name of the winning race-horse for the year ! In this country his name is by no means so generally well known as in England, but some of his later works have been widely copied by the American press, and show that eighty years have not altogether dimmed the fire of youth. He was extremely fortunate in having been associated in boyhood with many men who have since become famous: Gladstone, Lord Elgin, Arthur Hallam, and scores of others whose names are familiar wherever English is spoken, are encountered on every page, and almost always some curious incident is told. Of Gladstone, for instance, it is said that in company with some other boys of his own age he was practicing the cheers and unearthly calls common in the English Parliament, and was nearly flogged for drunkenness by a tutor who could not understand how such noises could be made by persons in their sober senses. The volume is instinct with the sprightly humor of its brilliant and versatile author. It is rambling and disjointed, as his Oxonian lectures are said to have been ; but this very fact lends it an undoubted charm. There is hardly a dull line,

certainly not a dull page, in the whole volume. Sir Francis is one of the few living representatives of an age that was infinitely more encouraging to the enthusiasms of life than is the present time. Byron and Scott were the literary inspirations of his youth, and he has never fallen under the spell of modern methods to a degree sufficient to take this edge from his powers of appreciation. It is pleasant to reflect that the genial old gentleman survives to enjoy the literary success that his reminiscences are sure to achieve. In England they have long been awaited with pleasant anticipations by those who knew that they were in preparation, and many an American reader will close the volume with a kindly feeling in his heart for the old *littérateur*, turfite, scholar and society man who attended the Doncaster races last year, and will no doubt attend the Derby should he live till 1910.

SKETCHES OF MY LIFE. By the late ADMIRAL HOBART PASHA. 12mo, pp. 281. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

The story of a sailor's life, when well told, is sure to be entertaining, and it is a singular fact that, with few exceptions, sailor books are better literary work than those produced by their brothers in arms on land. Perhaps this is because they are fewer in number, and have as a general thing less of pretense and humbug than characterizes the work of their shore-going brethren. Like most of the most entertaining autobiographies, the admiral's reminiscences are thrown together much as though he had told the story sitting on deck of an evening. There is a certain unstudied sequence of events, beginning with his rough-and-ready initiation into the service, and his adventures, hair-breadth escapes, and love affairs as a careless and daring young middy, and ending with the narrative of his able command of the Turkish fleet during the last war with Russia. Several of the most interesting chapters are devoted to blockade-running during the civil war in this country. Into this dangerous trade he entered simply from a love of adventure and a desire to make money, and his descriptions of the exciting rushes through the lines of United States cruisers off the Southern coast can hardly be read without a quickening of the blood. Of course no American can read these accounts without wishing that he might have been captured and locked up for a while, just for the credit of the service ; but time enough has elapsed for us to forgive him for lending aid and comfort to the enemy. The book is by far more entertaining than the majority of novels, and we cordially recommend it to any one who is suffering from a surfeit of fiction.

THE POEMS OF SIR JOHN SUCKLING.

A new edition, with preface and notes. Edited by FREDERICK A. STOKES. 12mo, pp. 218. New York : White, Stokes & Allen. 1886.

This, we believe, is the first attempt at grouping together, under various headings, such of Sir John Suckling's poems as can be so arranged with propriety—and it is the first and only collection of them ever published in this country. Some few of the songs of this brilliant courtier and wit are among the finest in the language, their simplicity, grace, and humor are unmatched; but his writings, either in prose or verse, are not of uniform merit. His life was very short, extending only from 1609 to 1642. His father, who had been comptroller of the royal household, left him a large fortune while he was yet in college, and he plunged deeply into the frivolities and dissipation of the court of Charles I., to which he was attached. Many of his letters as well as verses are extant, and are excellent in style, sparkling with vivacity; while some of his serious ones concerning public affairs display sound judgment and high ability. He wrote several plays that received some notice at the time, but none of them have been considered of sufficient account for a place in this volume. A finely executed portrait of the poet, from the painting by Vandyke, forms the frontispiece, and a prepossessing face it is that looks down upon us through the vista of the centuries. The work has been edited with much discrimination and good taste, and is elegantly printed.

AGNES SURRIAGE. By EDWIN LASSETTER BYNNER. 16mo, pp. 418. Boston : Ticknor & Co. 1887.

The author of this historical novel has made his mark through two previous books, namely, "Damen's Ghost" and "Penelope's Suitors," both of which were received with more than the average need of popular favor. The present work deals with colonial times, the scene opening on the picturesque peninsula of Marblehead, prior to the old French war, and introducing as the basis of its plot a number of the dignitaries of that time, who will readily be recognized by anyone who chooses to search the records covering that romantic period of New England history, when we are wont erroneously to think the lives of all men conformed strictly to the straight puritanical standard of manners and morals. The Frankland episode, as narrated in the book before us, was one of the conspicuous scandals of the time, and in very truth involved many of the leading officials of the colony in its complications. The story of Agnes Surriage is the not uncommon one of beauty in dis-

tress, of love and jealousy, of adversity and fortune. It is not fair to the book or its author to sketch the plot, and thus rob the reader of half the enjoyment. It is certainly well and carefully studied from the actual records of the time, and is based largely upon the personal papers of the hero, to which the author had access. The most thrilling episode is the great earthquake at Lisbon, in the terrors of which the principal actors in the drama are personal participants. As a character study the book is not without a peculiar charm, based, it would seem, upon the nature of the authorities from which the author derives his main facts. Many of the letters and incidents bear the stamp of that nature which makes us all kin.

LIVES OF GIRLS WHO BECAME FAMOUS. By SARAH K. BOLTON. 12mo, pp. 347. New York : Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1886.

The contents of this work show at a glance its claim to the reader's attention. Sketches of the lives of such women as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Helen Hunt Jackson, Lucretia Mott, Maria Mitchell, Mary Lyon, Elizabeth Fry, Louisa M. Alcott, and a dozen others of distinction, when well done, cannot otherwise than command wide and appreciative interest. Mrs. Bolton is a practiced writer, and has evidently made a careful study of her various subjects, dwelling particularly for the benefit of young girls on the early years of the famous women of whom she writes. For instance, she relates of Harriet Hosmer's school life that, "unused to restraint, she did not like the first school at which she was placed: the principal said he 'could do nothing with her.' She was then taken to Mrs. Sedgwick, who kept a famous school at Lenox. She remained here three years. Mrs. Sedgwick says: 'She was the most difficult pupil to manage I ever had, but I think I never had one in whom I took so deep an interest, and whom I learned to love so well.'" When Margaret Fuller Ossoli was fifteen, she had read and studied so persistently, and with such discrimination, that she had learned the secret of all the most prominent lives. The author says: "The majority in this world will always be mediocre, because they lack high-minded ambition and the willingness to work." This statement we fear is only too true. The wonderful career of Mary Lyon is traced by Mrs. Bolton with a skilled hand, and is perhaps the most picturesque chapter in the book. She was a born educator. Her childhood home was in a remote township among the hills; and her early experiences in teaching, and the heroic efforts she made to found the school which has been such a success, and is still sending out its

strong forces into the world—"the very foundation of the highest civilization"—reads more like romance than a story in real New England country life. The book is illustrated with portraits, but they are without exception very poorly engraved and printed.

THE BUCKHOLTZ FAMILY. Sketches of Berlin Life, by JULIUS STINDE. Translated by L. DORA SCHMITZ. 16mo, pp. 262. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

The translation, so the title-page informs us, is "from the forty-ninth German edition," and one can readily understand, even from a translation, that in the original the book is one of those surpassingly natural studies of social life that always fascinate the reader. It is for German middle-life what Rose Terry Cooke's studies are to New England life—so natural that one says: "Why, I could have written that myself!" Human nature has so much in common that an American—even one who is not familiar with German ways—recognizes the truthfulness of the pictures. That the story loses somewhat in the translating is almost a matter of necessity, and in this case the author has yielded, perhaps a bit too often, to the temptation of German idiom. Here and there, is an evident struggle to put into English some of those awe-inspiring German compounds that are so very expressive in German, but are so hopelessly untranslatable that the attempt to render them in any other tongue had better be abandoned. Upon the whole, the translation is good, and the story well deserves to be read. Even the faults of translation are prompted by the best of motives.

CAPTAIN GLAZIER AND HIS LAKE. An Inquiry into the history and progress of exploration at the headwaters of the Mississippi since the discovery of Lake Itasca. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 58. New York : Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Company. 1886.

Mr. Henry D. Harrower has collected in this work many facts relative to the exploration of the sources of the Mississippi since the white man first sighted Lake Itasca, with several valuable maps. As his criticisms of Captain Glazier take the form of an inquiry, we shall be better able to judge of their merits when the results of thorough exploration furnish the public with the exact conformation of the region which gives birth to the great river.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATURAL HISTORY IN AMERICA. By G. BROWN GOODE. An Address before the Biological Society, Washington, D. C., at its Sixth An-

niversary 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 105. Washington. 1886.

In this most instructive monograph we have rehearsed the story of the earliest investigators of American natural history, including two centuries of English endeavor, and nearly three, if the earlier explorations of the naturalists of Europe are taken into consideration. The record of the achievements of American science since the time of Franklin is, in the language of President Goode, "a proud one." He says: "During the last fifty years in England, and the last forty in America, discovery has followed discovery with such rapid succession that it is somewhat hard to realize that American science in the colonial period, or even that of Europe at the same time, had any features which are worthy of consideration." He adds, however, that "it seems fortunate that some of the most honored of the early naturalists are perpetuated in well-established generic and specific combinations."

SOME ESSAYS OF ELIA. By CHARLES LAMB. Crown 8vo, pp. 236. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1886.

The incomparable essays of Elia made their appearance originally when the art of illustration was still hampered by the slow methods of printing from the block. The electrotype and the various kinds of process-work were then unknown. Moreover, the art of drawing, with a special view to illustration, was not then cultivated to anything like the perfection now attained; artists who could draw for the engraver were scarce, and their time was, for the most part, occupied with more remunerative work. There have, we believe, been handsome illustrated editions of Lamb's works, but nothing with modern improvements in style and treatment. It is not wonderful, therefore, that Mr. C. O. Murray should have been tempted, by the constantly recurring picturesque situations in the essays, to attempt their interpretation. He has succeeded admirably in most of the hundred and more illustrations that embellish the pages of the pretty volume in catching the spirit of the context, and he has been ably seconded by the engraver, Mr. R. Patterson. It is so seldom nowadays that one sees old-fashioned wood engravings outside the pages of London "Punch," that it is with a degree of incredulity that we recognize these as the real thing. Not that they are necessarily better than good process-work, but they have an interesting flavor of antiquity about them recalling Cruikshank and Bewick, and having withal a certain soft richness that process-work has not yet attained. The attractive little volume contains fifteen of the most popular of the essays, which may well introduce Elia to the younger generation of to-day, which knows him only by repute.

NOTABLE ETCHINGS BY AMERICAN ARTISTS. Text by RIPLEY HITCHCOCK. Folio, pp. 54. New York, 1886: White, Stokes & Allen.

This beautiful volume contains ten typical representations in the different departments of etching, presenting different methods of work. The etchers are J. L. Jerome Ferris, Frederick W. Freer, Kruseman Van Elten, James J. Calahan, Frank M. Gregory, Leroy M. Yale, Joseph F. Sabin, W. H. Shelton, Charles Volkmar and W. St. John Harper. The text is admirably adapted to the purposes of the work, as it deals in little criticisms upon particular examples and gives some account of the process by which each artist works, with timely and valuable information about the personality of the artists themselves. One of the most interesting of the etchings is "The Book Worm," by Joseph F. Sabin, the son of Joseph Sabin, the well-known and enthusiastic bibliophile, of whom it is said, "His name will always be associated with the history of the growth of taste for, and knowledge of, rare, fine, and valuable books in this country." The son, who modestly calls himself an amateur, offers, says Mr. Hitchcock, one of the rare instances of a connoisseur engaging in the actual practice of his favorite art. Among other noteworthy examples in the book of which we should speak more at length if space permitted, are Frank M. Gregory's "Old Trinity and Wall Street," and Dr. Yale's "The Old Bridge." The latter is an etching direct from nature, representing a scene on the Merrimac River. It is remarkably well done, in the artist's free and individual manner, and impresses us like the catching and holding of a sudden thought or inspiration.

IN JUSTICE TO THE NATION. American History in American Schools, Colleges, and Universities. By FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, Ph.D., Fellow of the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 22. [Reprint from Education] 1886.

This excellent monograph deserves wide circulation. The knowledge of American history is altogether too limited. The teachers in our public and private schools from one end of the country to the other, would, we fear, present a sorry picture, if marshaled into a class for examination in the true story of the social development of the American people. If such can be said of the teachers, what can be expected of the pupils!

Professor Thorpe tells us that in "more than two hundred and fifty of our universities and colleges, the study of American history is confined to the study of one text-book. In pre-

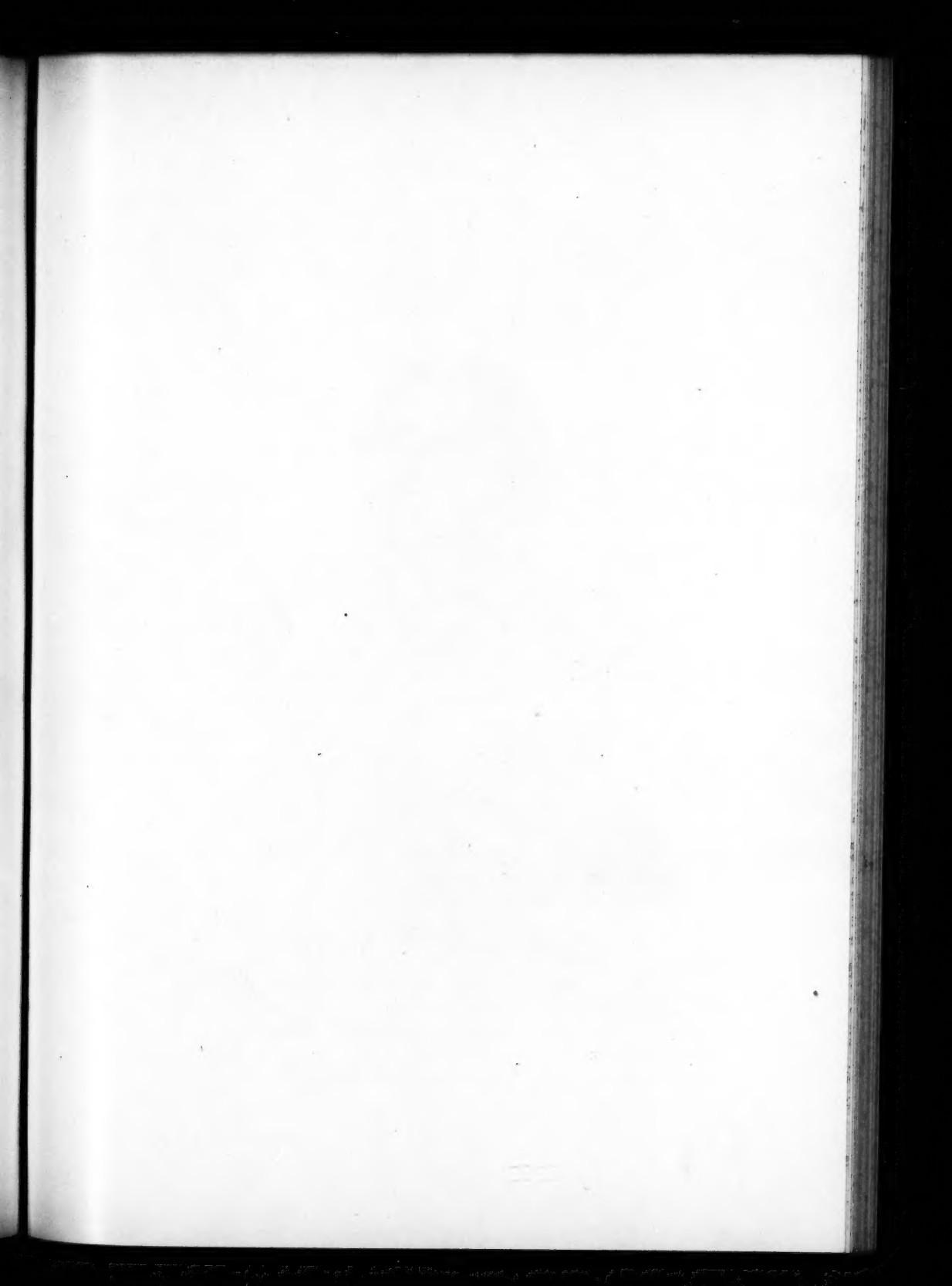
paratory schools it is not taught, on the average, above five recitations a week, not to exceed thirty minutes a lesson; and the total amount of this study averages not over six months in the school-life of the child." He also shows in clear, straightforward English what ought to be done to remedy this serious evil, and how to prepare teachers for the proper instruction of pupils in one of the most important branches of education.

THE SCHOLAR'S DUTY AND OPPORTUNITY. By CHARLES W. BAIRD, D.D. Phi Beta Kappa Oration. University of the City of New York. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 17. New York. 1886.

"The scholar, whether in professional or in business life, whether in public office or in the capacity of a private citizen, can exert in this age and in this land a mighty influence for his country's good. His vote, his voice, his pen, his personality, employed with intelligent, persistent purpose in the service of righteousness, truth, and justice, may be employed with telling effect. The large and growing class of those among our population who have enjoyed the benefits of superior intellectual training, have—did they but know it—a mission superadded to their several callings as lawyers, teachers, ministers, physicians, journalists or what not, a mission to promote sound views upon all questions of public interest, and to take the lead in all action prompted by generous devotion to the common good." We need only quote the above gem from Dr. Baird's scholarly oration to illustrate its character and value. The monograph in its present form ought to have a place in every young man's portfolio, to be read and studied at any or every leisure moment.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG. "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER." The History of it. By MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER HAMILTON. 12mo. Pamphlet. pp. 26. New York: George B. Lockwood & Sons. 1887.

"Every school-boy and school-girl in the land should be familiar with the chief points in the history of their country's ensign" says the author of this admirably condensed account of our beautiful national flag. It certainly will not be the fault of General Hamilton if they are not hereafter, since nothing could be more clearly presented in a way of a pen-picture than his record of the origin, birth and gradual unfolding of the "stars and stripes," until the stars number thirty-eight.—"Such a flag as was never before displayed by any nation, nor by any human hand."





Wyl Meren

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

XVII

MARCH, 1887

No. 3

FREDERICKSBURG, FIRST AND LAST

I

WHEN a site for the "Federal City" was under discussion, some statesmen, in whom the historic sense was strong, suggested Fredericksburg. Since then, research has revealed romantic adventures in that town more than fifty years anterior to its settlement by English people. There the first Christian shrine was built (1570) and its Spanish missionaries massacred; there Captain John Smith fought with the Rappahannocks (1608). It would have been historically as well as physically a fit place for the national capital. In the present paper, however, I content myself with a moderate degree of antiquity.

In 1675 occurred the killing of Robert Hen and an Indian, both in the employ of a Burgess of Stafford County, which led to Colonel John Washington's siege of the Doegs, on the present site of Washington City, to their massacre while under a flag of truce, to reprisals, and to Bacon's Rebellion, whose significance has been recently shown in this magazine.¹ In March, 1675, Jamestown government ordered "one hundred and eleven men out of Chester county to be garrisoned at one ffort or place of defence at or near the falls of Rappahannock river, of which ffort Major Lawrence Smith to be captain or cheife comander." The ammunition assigned for this ffort "fower hundred and eighty pounds of powder and floretene hundred and three pounds of shot,"—much more than was distributed to either of the four other river forts by the same act. This was the beginning of Falmouth, now by bridges made a suburb of Fredericksburg. Falmouth fairly claim to be the oldest town on the Rappahannock. Though the fort was but temporarily manned in 1675, Major Lawrence Smith recognized the advantages of the place—then the head of navigation, and with a fine water power in its falls—and made certain proposals to the government, which were adopted in April, 1679. He was to mark out below the falls a piece of land one mile in length, and a quarter of a mile backward into the woods, and thereon build habitations for 250 men, of whom 50 were to be well armed and kept ready for action at tap of drum. Around